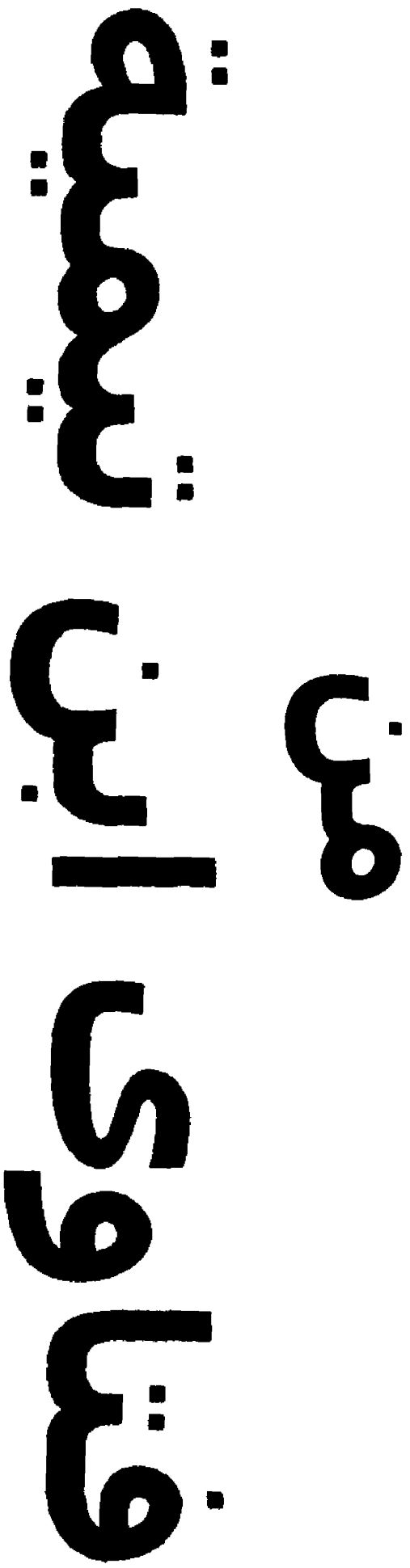

# IBN TAYMIYYAH EXPOUNDS ON ISLAM

Selected Writings of Shaykh al-Islam
Taqi ad-Din Ibn Taymiyyah
on Islamic Faith, Life, and Society

Compiled and translated by
Muhammad 'Abdul-Haqq Ansari
Edited By IslamFuture

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# من
# فتاوى ابن تيمية

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE COMPASSIONATE THE MERCIFUL

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## FOREWORD

All praise and thanks belong to Allah, and may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon the Messenger of Allah.

The pride and honor of every nation is concentrated in two main principles: The first is the principle of upright and sound thought for the Muslims. The infallible Divine Revelation exemplifies this. The second is the principle of the carriers of the thought and its leaders. They are the scholars of Islamic law (Sharī'ah). For this reason praise of knowledge and its people came in the Noble Qur'ān and the pure prophetic Sunnah. Allah, the Exalted, said: "Allah bears witness that none has the right to be worshiped but He, and the angels and those having knowledge (also give this witness); He always maintains His creation in justice. None has the right to be worshiped but He, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise" [3:18]. He also said: "It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves who fear Allah" [35:28]. And in the authentic *ḥadīth*: "Truly the scholars are the heirs to the prophets. Truly the prophets did not leave behind dinars or dirhams (to be inherited); rather they left knowledge. So whoever takes it has taken an immense portion of good."

Islamic thought, by which I mean the thought of the Muslims, has gone through many different stages with regard to remaining upright or deviating. Thus there were successive stages in which Islamic thought was pure and enlightened. We also notice other states in which Islamic thought had been struck with confusion and deviance.

One of the periods when Islamic thought was not enlightened was in the seventh and eighth centuries of the Hijrah. Blind zeal and weakness of thought were widespread in Islamic society, as well as the strengthening of innovation (*bid'ah*) and superstition. There was also division in the community and empowerment of the external enemies of Islam.

In the shadow of these difficult conditions Imām Aḥmad Ibn 'Abdul-Ḥalīm Ibn 'Abdus-Salām Ibn Taymīyyah Al-Ḥarranī (d. 728 H.) appeared. He was brilliant of mind, sharply intelligent, pure of thought, strong in reasoning and encyclopedic in knowledge, all these coupled with his complete uprightness in religion and character. His supporters as well as his opponents all bore witness to these facts. This made him fit for the exploration of a distinguished school of thought that mirrored the Salafī school and its methodology in the first three generations of Islam. It is the same school of thought upon which Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdul-Wahhāb based his call to Islam and that which the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was based upon before and is based upon now.

This imām wrote on numerous fields of Islamic knowledge: in the fields of belief and thought, worship and social life, and character and good manners. He also wrote in other fields that assisted with the fundamental fields, such as logic, language, and the like. His works were elevated, with strong academic style, precise verification and objective arguments.

It is from this viewpoint that the University saw it appropriate to choose selections from his scholarly legacy and compile them into a single book. This was done to make it easy for the seekers of knowledge to obtain this information, also to make the noble reader aware of and turn his sights to this immense knowledge which has not ceased to be a minaret of light by which the reformists, scholars, callers to Islam and others are guided.

The University entrusted the selection process as well as the translation to Dr. Muḥammad 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Anṣārī, Researcher in the Deanery of Academic Research, who has put forth a great effort that is well worth mentioning and for which he is to be thanked. The University then entrusted the final review process, the editing, printing and publication of the work to the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in America, which is a branch of the University.

I ask Allah to cause benefit to come through this book. I also thank the Deanery of Academic Research at the University for its great efforts in the field of authorship, translation and publication, and I thank the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences in the Washington area for reviewing and publishing the book.

Allah is sufficient for us, and He is the best trustee.

Dr. Muhammad Ibn Sa`ad Al-Salem , Rector ,
Al-Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘ūd Islamic University

# PREFACE

The history of Islam is a history of struggle between Islam and *jāhilīyyah,* ignorance. *Jāhilīyyah* invades Islam with its ideas and forces; it enters the body and the soul of Islam; it distorts its faith; it upsets its values; it changes its life style; it undermines its institutions; it weakens its impulse; and it alters its image. To counteract this invasion, people with clear perceptions of Islamic ideas, values, life and institutions have appeared at various periods in Islamic history. They have fought the *jāhilīyyah* on various fronts, defeated its forces, and revived and reinvigorated Islam. They are hailed as *mujaddid*, or renewer, of the religion, following a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet to that effect. Shaykh al-Islām Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Taymīyyah was one of those great personalities of Islam; he occupies a place of honor among them.

For various reasons the West has not been able to appreciate Ibn Taymīyyah's place in Islam. His criticism of Ash'arī *kalām*, Greek logic and philosophy, monistic Ṣūfism, Shī'ī doctrines, and Christian faith have proved great obstacles to appreciating his contribution. His way of writing has also been to an extent responsible. Most of his writings are short or long responsa (*fatāwā*) to particular questions, often recurring, put to him by different men at different times, rather than planned, systematic works on particular subjects. This makes the appreciation of his contribution somewhat difficult. Henri Laoust in France was the first to take serious notice of him. Since the publication of his *Essay on the Social and Political Doctrines of Ibn Taymīyyah* (1939), a few articles and books have appeared on Ibn Taymīyyah's thought, but they are far from giving any clear idea of his overall contribution to Islam, even less of assessing his role in its revival and renewal (*tajdīd*). In fact, there has been little understanding of the concept of *tajdīd* in Islam.

This volume consists of selections from various writings of Ibn Taymīyyah included in the *Majmū' Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām* (37 volumes) published in Riyadh, *Jāmi' ar-Rasā'il* (2 volumes), published by Dr. Rashād Salīm in Cairo, as well as some of his major works, such as *Minhāj as-Sunnah an-Nabawīyyah, Dar' Ta'āruḍ al-'Aql wa An-Naql, Kitāb ar-Radd 'alā al-Mantaqiyyīn, Al-Istiqāmah,* and *Iqtiḍā aṣ-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm.*

These selections will, I hope, present in a single volume a clear and complete view of Ibn Taymīyyah's concepts of Islamic faith, life and society. They are primarily intended to highlight his positive position and mention his criticisms and refutations of other positions only to the extent needed. I hope that, in going through these selections, the reader will also form an idea of the work of *tajdīd* that Ibn Taymīyyah undertook. In the Introduction to this volume I have discussed at length the notion of *tajdīd* in Islam and underscored the contribution of Ibn Taymīyyah in this regard. This will, I hope, help the reader understand the tremendous impact that his writings have exercised on all the efforts that are being made to revive and reinvigorate Islam in our times.

The idea to compile a selection of Ibn Taymīyyah's vast corpus of writings, presenting in his own words his basic religious thought, was presented to me a few years ago to the then Director of the Research Center of Imām Ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University, Riyadh, Dr. Muḥammad Ar-Rubay'. He very much welcomed the idea and got the approval of the president of the University, His Excellency, Dr. 'Abdullah 'Abdul-Muḥsin At-Turkī. The completion of this work was interrupted, due to engagement in another, no-less-important project, the translation into English of Ibn Abī Al-'Izz's voluminous *Commentary on the Creed of Aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī*. After finishing that project, I returned to Ibn Taymīyyah. The present Director of the Center and Dean of Academic Research, Dr.**Abdullah Al-Rabi ee**, has consistently followed the progress of this work with great interest. Thank God it is now completed. Let me pray that this volume succeed in bringing Ibn Taymīyyah closer to the English-speaking world, as well as in promoting a better understanding of the pure, pristine Islam which he tried to expound in his writings.

Muḥammad 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Anṣārī

# INTRODUCTION

The Prophet, peace and blessings of God be on him, has said: "God will raise, at the head of each century, such people for this *ummah* as will renew (*ujaddidu*) its religion for it."[1] This means that the history of Islam will not be smooth sailing; the forces of ignorance (*jāhilīyyah*) will continue to be at war with Islam. As a result, some far-reaching changes will occur over a century which will disfigure Islam and seriously endanger the faith and life of the *ummah*. When this happens God will raise from the community someone or some men who will fight the *jāhilīyyah,* right the wrong which it has caused, restore Islam to its own shape, and give the community a new lease on life.

The changes and distortions which the *ḥadīth* implies will not be something petty and superficial, happening only in a decade or two and affecting only a part of the *ummah* or some people in one geographical area, such that they could be rectified by small reformative efforts. They will be profound and far-reaching, colossal and widespread, and will require a Herculean effort to rectify them. They will affect the very basis of Islam, erode or compromise the validity of the revelation, subject it to reason or intuition. They may even do the opposite: negate or undermine reason or intuition and destroy the balance which Islam maintains between them. They will affect the faith of Islam. They will change the concept of God and His relation to the world, they will distort the idea of His *tawḥīd* and its meaning for human life, and compromise it in various ways, overt and covert, and smear it with *shirk*. They will change the view of prophethood and prophetic mission, the view of the life hereafter and its relation to the life in this world. They will also affect the Islamic system of values, replace the ultimate good of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah with some other good, alter the order of priorities, make the lower higher and the higher lower, or just drop or ignore certain values and replace them with others which are alien to Islam. They will change the manner and the method which the Qur'ān and the Sunnah prescribe to affirm, strengthen and cultivate Islamic values and accomplish Islamic perfection, and replace partly or mostly the prophetic *sulūk* with a *sulūk* which draws upon foreign sources and is geared to different ends. They will affect Islamic society, weaken the bond of unity which binds it together, make it forget the mission which God has set before it, and replace it with another not approved by Him, shift power and authority from hands which are supposed to wield it to hands which are not supposed to wield it, alter the principles which are stipulated to integrate the Islamic society, and institute in their place those that are opposed to the faith and the values of Islam.

The *mujaddid* whom God raises to revive Islam is gifted with great talents. He perceives minutely all the changes which occur in the life of the *ummah*. He gauges the extent to which they have sapped its strength. He brings those changes to the knowledge of the people. He makes them aware of all the forms they appear in. And finally, he points out the factors which have caused them. He attacks those factors, assails the doctrines which are involved, exposes the methods by which they work, traces the process through which they have developed, demolishes the excuses which people have advanced, and destroys the justifications they have offered. He rejects all the compromises which have been made with respect to God's unity, and puts in the language of the time the pure undiluted concept of *tawḥīd*.

He restates the mission and the way of the Prophet and restores his authority. He elaborates the Islamic system of values, puts every element in its place, and defines their priorities. He demonstrates that Islam is the only religion which corresponds to the nature in which God has created man. He states the *ṭarīqah* which the Prophet taught his companions to serve God and perfect themselves, reviews the *ṭarīqah* which people have worked out by themselves and shows what is right and what is wrong in them. He defines the structure of Islamic society, the principles of its organization, the place men and women occupy in it, the rights which individuals have and the duties they are to fulfill, the hands which should wield power, the way they should exercise it, and the ends they should achieve thereby. He addresses himself to the new issues and problems which the society of his time faces, and, using the insight God has given him in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, he tries to solve them without ignoring either the tradition of the community or the demands of the new conditions.

This is the work that a *mujaddid* does on the plane of ideas. On the practical plane, he strives to correct the practices which *jāhiīyyah* has introduced, and revives the ones which it has suppressed. He fights *shirk*, misguided innovations, and unlawful practices, and promotes true faith and real piety. He wages war against the forces that support unbelief, injustice and sin, and strengthens those that work for truth, justice and virtue. He tries to ensure that power is exercised not to secure personal, group, or class interests, but to establish the rule of the *shar'* and promote the good of each and every human being. He also stands up against the external forces which try to subdue the *ummah*, or check the fulfillment of its mission. In short, he strives to establish the religion of Islam and the rule of God in all its aspects. The *mujaddid* is the heir (*warīth*)[2] of the Prophet. He tries to do the job of a prophet though he is not a prophet.

This is the work which a *mujaddid* whom God raises to renew His religion is supposed to do. But what part of it he really succeeds in doing depends upon the powers he has and the conditions he works in. He may succeed in some areas and fail in others. He may also make mistakes and, as he is not a prophet, his mistakes need not be rectified by God. This means that in reviewing the work of a *mujaddid* one need not justify each and every idea which he has expounded, or commend every work which he has done. It should also be borne in mind that the *ḥadīth* which we quoted earlier does not mean that there is only one person at a time who deserves the title of *mujaddid*. God may raise more than one person at a time who strives to renew His religion. In fact, He has sent more than one prophet at a time to save some people.

Shaykh al-Islām Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Taymīyyah was one of those great men whom God raised to renew Islam. He occupies a place of honor among them. To call him an eminent Ḥanbalī jurist and theologian, or an outstanding Salafī scholar, or a great Sunnī reformer does not do his achievements justice. He was the *mujaddid* of Islam *par excellence*. In the following pages I will try to highlight some facets of the renovatory work which he undertook and successfully accomplished. I must confine myself to those facets which lie within the purview of this book, and I must leave out some non-related facets; I mean those which belong to the field of *fiqh*, or relate to Shī'ism and Christianity.

Ibn Taymīyyah (661/1263-728/1328) was born in Harran, in northern Iraq, near present day Mosul, to a family known for its learning. His grandfather, Majd ad-Dīn Ibn Taymīyyah (d. 653/1255), the author of *Muntaqā al-Akhbār*, a renowned compilation of legal *ḥadīth* and tradition, was the most outstanding

Ḥanbalī jurist of his time. His father, 'Abdul-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymīyyah (d. 682/1284) was a distinguished scholar of *ḥadīth*. When Taqī ad-Dīn Ibn Taymīyyah was seven, the family had to leave for Damascus, as the Mongols, who had overrun Baghdad five years earlier, were threatening to move north. In Damascus, his father was offered the post of professor of *ḥadīth* at the Sakkarīyyah Madrasah where he gave lectures on *ḥadīth* and Ḥanbalī *fiqh* till the end of his life.

Ibn Taymīyyah studied with his father and with many famous scholars of his time. On the death of his father, Ibn Taymīyyah, who was twenty-one at the time, was called to teach *ḥadīth* at Sakkarīyyah. He was also asked to give lectures on the Qur'ān at the Umayyad mosque. The rest of his time Ibn Taymīyyah devoted to the study of various branches of knowledge known in his age. Az-Zamalakānī, a contemporary scholar not favorably disposed to Ibn Taymīyyah, said - and his saying so is fully borne out by Ibn Taymīyyah's writings - that whatever subject he discussed, he surpassed all the scholars of his times in that subject.[3] In Arabic grammar, for example, he had acquired such proficiency that Abū Ḥayyān, the leading grammarian of the time, paid a visit to him and wrote an ode in his praise. As for *ḥadīth*, it was a popular saying that the *ḥadīth* which Ibn Taymīyyah did not know was not a *ḥadīth*. In *fiqh*, Ibn Taymīyyah rose to the status of a *mujtahid muṭlaq*, one who does not limit himself to any particular school but goes directly to the basic sources of the Sharī'ah to form his opinion.

By the time Ibn Taymīyyah appeared on the scene, most of the major developments in philosophy, *kalām* and *taṣawwūf* had taken place. To speak of philosophy first, thanks to the efforts of a number of thinkers, there had emerged a version of philosophy which was in its essence neo-Platonic, but which they had projected, after some modifications, as Islamic philosophy, or at least not opposed to the Islamic faith. They had conceived of God as a self-existing necessary being, reflecting on Himself and on universal realities which were part of His essence. The world of particular things they had not considered to be worthy of His knowledge or His will. In fact, they had conceived of God's unity in a way which did not admit of any will or action on His part. They had reduced His authority either to negative epithets or to mere relations. The world, they believed, proceeded from Him of necessity through a series of beings in an ontologically regressive order from intelligences, spheres of material objects. It was an eternal, self-operating system of causes and effects supervised by the Active Intellect.

Man was a combination of matter and spirit, and his perfection lay in the subordination of his body to his reason, in reflection and action. His ultimate perfection, however, lay only in pure rational activity, in contemplation alone. In this way, man could imitate God, which is his ultimate happiness. After death, the material body would perish forever. Most of the philosophers believed that there would be no resurrection of the body. Paradise would be the abode of the spirit, and its inhabitants would be such as had perfected their reason and transformed it from potentiality into actuality.

In principle, human reason is competent to know God and all other realities, as it is competent to know good and evil. Revelation is needed for the common people, whose reason is overwhelmed by passions. It is for them that prophets are sent, and it is in their language that they speak, a language of parables and metaphors. When interpreted properly and put into non-figurative language, their ideas will never differ from those which the philosophers discover through reason. For truth is one, whether taught by Plato and Aristotle, or by Moses and Muḥammad. Besides an extraordinary power of knowing truths, the prophets were given unusually strong imaginations which projected rational ideas in material forms, as well as the power to work wonders. However, those powers are also available to non-prophets to some degree.

Before Ibn Taymīyyah, Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) had examined many of these ideas in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* and subjected them to searching criticism. He had tried to show that some of these doctrines were simply false, and others that were true the philosophers were not able to prove conclusively. Reason, he had shown, was not competent to reach the truth on theological issues. On three of their doctrines, namely that particular things are not the object of God's knowledge, that the world is eternal, and that resurrection would only be of the spirit, he had charged the philosophers with unbelief (*kufr*).

Extensive as it was, Al-Ghazālī's criticism did not cover many other parts of philosophy. He did not touch upon logic or ethics. On the contrary, he hailed logic as the epitome of all knowledge and made it part of the Islamic curriculum without realizing its epistemological and metaphysical implications. He also adopted the philosophers' view of human perfection and happiness. In his later writings, the authenticity of some of which is disputed, he reiterated some philosophical doctrines and revised some of his own earlier views. Reviewing Al-Ghazālī's criticism of philosophy, Ibn Rushd (d. 598/1201) partly agreed with his criticisms and admitted that cosmological or etiological arguments developed by Aristotle, or the argument from contingency advanced by Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1036) for God's existence were not convincing. On the other hand, with respect to the argument from design or creation of man which the Qur'ān states, he attacked the theologians' doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, and said that it could not be supported by the Qur'ān. He also pointed out that the whole emanationist doctrine which Al-Ghazālī had criticized was not Aristotelian; it was only put forward by Farabī (d. 329/950) and by Ibn Sīnā. He found fault with other doctrines of Ibn Sīnā, and showed that Al-Ghazālī was not correct to attribute them to Aristotle.[4]

These developments, as well as the ideas which Ibn Sīnā in his later writings and Shihāb ad-Dīn Suhrawardī Al-Maqtul (d. 587/1991) in his philosophy of illumination (*ishrāq*) had expounded, demanded a more thorough criticism of philosophy and a better statement of Islamic concepts.

While philosophers were committed above all else to reason, or what they thought to be rational, the theologians (*mutakalimūn*) were supposed to be loyal first to revelation, but they paid little attention to it. They believed that the Qur'ān only stated the creed. As for arguments, it did not say much or, if it said anything, it was rhetorical. They underestimated Qur'ānic arguments regarding credal issues. On the other hand, they overestimated the efficacy of reason in theology and did not realize it limitations. They could not see that many of their arguments were inconclusive and unconvincing. Moreover, they had borrowed concepts from philosophy or had developed them by themselves, which led them to interpret the words of the Qur'ān in a metaphorical way, as opposed to how the Elders of Islam understood the Qur'ān. They even negated many attributes of God or rendered them inoperative. The Mu'tazilah, for example, represented the attributes of God as accidents (*a'rad*) that exist in a body, and on that account denied speech to God and asserted that the Qur'ān was something created. Similarly, on the grounds that vision can only be the vision of a body in space, they denied that the believers would see God in the Hereafter.

On the other hand, the Asha'irah, the dominant schools of theology at the time, reacting to the Mu'tazilī view regarding the rationality of good and evil in the impression that it implied an obligation on God and limited His absolute power, denied that there was anything good or bad in itself or that its goodness or badness could be known through reason, independently of revelation. This lead them to deny God's wisdom and render His will completely arbitrary. They also did not realize that their doctrine left no grounds for morality and religion in man, and robbed them of all justification. It left man with nothing with which to judge a prophet's claim to prophethood or to distinguish between a true prophet and an imposter. Their idea of an absolute, divine will led them to deny efficacy to human will, as well as causality in nature. They asserted that man was not the doer of his acts; he only acquired them. There is only one doer or actor there: God. Besides contradicting many statements of the Qur'ān, as well as the universal judgment of mankind, this doctrine paved the way for the much more damaging doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). From the oneness of the actor, Ṣūfīs and philosophers had only to take a small step to reach the oneness of being.

On the popular level, the Ash'arī doctrine regarding the *ṣifat khabarīyyah* caused greater alarm, and was regarded as being influenced by *I'tizāl*. They denied reality to these attributes and treated them as metaphors. They said that the face (*wajh*) of God means His being, His hand means power or favor, His *istawā* on the Throne means His rule, and His descending (*nuzūl*) to the lowest heaven means His blessing.

A considerable section of the people, led by scholars of *ḥadīth* and some Ḥanbalīs, reacted to this and other doctrines very strongly. They condemned theology as such, failing to distinguish between right *kalām* and wrong *kalām*. They would not admit that it had ever served any good purpose. They took the *ṣifat khabarīyyah* as literally true, completely anthropomorphized God and ascribed all the parts of the human body to Him. They thus smeared the good name of the Salaf, who had rightly abstained from such action. Among them, however, there were scholars like Ibn Al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) who condemned this extreme reactionary trend and pleaded for a more moderate view.

Like philosophy and *kalām*, *taṣawwūf* had stretched a long distance and had reached its climax before Ibn Taymīyyah. In its first phase, during the second century Hijrī, it was only a way of self-purification (*tazkiyat an-nafs*). Ṣūfīs like Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham (d. 160/776) and Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803) lived ascetic lives and devoted themselves to worship and *dhikr*. Their successors in the third century, like Abū Yazīd (d. 261/875), Junayd (d. 298/910), and others, developed definite *ṭarīqah* of their own to reach God, which consisted of stages and stations and culminated in the experience of God which they called *fanā'*, self-effacement, and *jam'*, union with God. They developed a whole terminology to describe various experiences through which the Ṣūfī passes on the path, which As-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) and Al-Qushayrī (d. 485/1072) have discussed in their works. Reflections on the way and the experience in this phase of Ṣūfīsm was in its early stages, as we find in the statements of Al-Junayd on *tawḥīd*, or in the description of Abū Yazīd of his own experience.

The third and final phase of *taṣawwūf* was marked by philosophical speculation in the light of mystical experience, as we find in the doctrine of *ḥulūl*, in-dwelling of God in man, at the hand of Al-Ḥallāj (309/923), or of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, Unity of Being at the hand of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240). Between Ibn 'Arabī, who had also taken Damascus as his seat, and Ibn Taymīyyah, there was a gap of less than a century, but in that short span, the former's doctrine had spread throughout the Islamic world, and different versions of it had been brought out by Ṣūfīs like Al-Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), Ibn Sab'īn (d. 668/1269, At-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291) and others. Earlier in the fifth century, Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who had also developed a mystical philosophy in some sense similar to that of Ibn 'Arabī in his *Mishkāt al-Anwār* and in a disguised form in some parts of his *Ihyā al-'Ulūm* and other writings, to some that also interpreted religious concepts like *tawḥīd*, trust (*tawakkul*), patience (*ṣabr*), and love (*maḥabbah*) on Ṣūfī lines. He strongly advocated the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah*, and underlined the need for Ṣūfī *kashf* as a means to comprehend ultimate realities and interpret theological truths.

These developments in *taṣawwūf* posed great problems for a *mujaddid*. He had first to define the place of *kashf* in theology and religion vis-à-vis revelation and reason. Second, he had to review the whole gamut of theosophical doctrines which Ṣūfīsm had put forward and show what parts of this were right and what were wrong. Third, he had to examine the *Sulūk* which the Ṣūfīs were advocating and point out what part of it was consistent with the Qur'ān and Sunnah. Fourth, he had to scrutinize the values of life which Ṣūfīsm had developed and the interpretation of moral and religious virtues which it had offered and show what part of it was acceptable and what was not.

This rapid survey of philosophy, theology and Ṣūfīsm will show what tasks Ibn Taymīyyah had before him. Let us see how he accomplished them.

It is time now to state the bases of Ibn Taymīyyah's approach to the renovation of Islam. First, he maintains that the Qur'ān and the Sunnah are not only the sources of Islamic law; they are also the sources of Islamic faith and belief. They tell how life is to be conducted, how society is to be organized, how economy is to be managed, and how government is to be administered. They further show the way (*ṭarīqah*) Muslims should purify themselves, cultivate piety and serve God best. The basic principles of all these areas have been laid down in the Qur'ān. They have been explained and elaborated further by the Sunnah of the Prophet. Hence, in all these matters one must look to them first; everything else comes next and can only be acceptable if it is consistent with them.

The correct procedure for understanding a Qur'ānic statement is first to refer to other relevant verses of the Qur'ān, for one part of the Qur'ān explains another. Then one should refer to the Sunnah of the Prophet, which is the authoritative explanation of the Qur'ān and should never diverge from it provided its authenticity is established. Third, one should look to the words and the practices of the Companions. In their understanding of the Qur'ān, and in their views on major issues of faith, values and conduct of life they had few differences; their words and practices have a normative value. Last, the comments of their successors (*at-tabi'ūn*) on the Qur'ān are also to be taken note of: one should not diverge from agreed-upon views; and where they differ one should adopt that which is closest to the Qur'ān and Sunnah. In their practice, too, the Successors were closest to the ideal of the Qur'ān and Sunnah, and were little affected by foreign ideas, values and traditions.

Besides these two generations, Ibn Taymīyyah also refers to the views of the *a'immah* of Islam, whose knowledge and piety the *ummah* trusts. Among them he counts the four imāms, Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/667), Mālik (d. 179/795), Ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/819) and, above all, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbāl (d. 241/855), then the scholars of distinction within their schools, as well as independent thinkers like Al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774) and Sufyān Ath-Thawrī (d. 160?771), leading critics and scholars of *ḥadīth* - such as Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), and the rest of the great compilers of *ḥadīth* - occupy a place of honor on this list. All the people that we have so far mentioned are referred to by Ibn Taymīyyah as the Righteous Elders. Their understanding of the Qur'ān and Sunnah, as well as their interpretation of Islamic faith and values, he holds, must be honored and followed. The language of the Arabs does have a role in the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, but it only comes after them. Moreover, the language that matters is what was used before Islam or in its early period when the language was not affected by new usage.

Reason is the next principle of Ibn Taymīyyah's innovative work. He says that God created man with a particular nature, *fiṭrah*. The beliefs, values and the principles of Islamic life and society have their roots in this *fiṭrah*. Islam is the religion of *fiṭrah*. and the whole purpose of Islam is the perfection of man on the lines of his *fiṭrah*. Reason is part of *fiṭrah*. Here there is and must be complete agreement between reason and revelation. This places two obligations on Ibn Taymīyyah. He has to show, on the one hand, that the beliefs, values and the principles of life and society that the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the *Salaf* expound have their rational justification; they are neither irrational nor arbitrary. He has to show, on the other hand, that whatever philosophers, theologians, or scholars of any field claim to be rational is not in reality rational if it goes against the Qur'ān, Sunnah and the views of the *Salaf.*

In addition to these principles, Ibn Taymīyyah also affirms a source of knowledge which may be called intuition. Commenting on the claim of Al-Ghazālī that piety is often the cause of an extraordinary knowledge which God imparts directly to the heart, Ibn Taymīyyah expresses his complete agreement and cites in support verse 8:29 and the *ḥadīth* which counts 'Umar among those who receive inspiration *muḥaddathūn.*[5] But how this principle stands with respect to what Ṣūfīs call *kashf* or *mukāshafah* he does not discuss. He does, however, very seriously limit the efficacy of this principle, and completely subjects it to revelation, just as he does in case of reason.

There are two main sources of knowledge: one that is available to every human being in varying degrees - senses and reason; and the other which is for prophets and messengers - revelation. In the former category there is a part which is self-evident, such as two and two make four, or two things which are equal to a third thing are equal to each other. Mathematics is based on these axiomatic truths that need no argument to prove them. Another category of knowledge is what is gained through sense perception and experience. This knowledge is of particular things which exist in reality - this man or that man, this chair or that chair. There is no knowledge of man as such, or of chair as such, for universals, Ibn Taymīyyah says, have no existence in reality; they exist only in our minds. And there is no knowledge of things which do not exist out there. Like the Stoics before him, Ibn Taymīyyah is a thoroughgoing nominalist; he opposes every doctrine which imputes any real existence to universals. All scientific knowledge, he says, proceeds from the perception of particular things from which reason forms ideas and concepts. This is the case for all physical and social sciences.

Logic, as a science dealing with the rules of correct reasoning, is not in itself opposed by Ibn Taymīyyah. His criticism of logic is directed against its formulation by Aristotle and against the efforts by Al-Ghazālī and others to make Aristotelian logic the major source of all correct knowledge. However, his criticism often degenerates into a denunciation of logic as a worthless science. In this he displays the influence of the earlier denouncers of logic, like Ibn Aṣ-Ṣalāh (d. 643/1245).

Nevertheless, there are many constructive aspects of significant importance in his review of logic. The first concerns the theory of definition. For Aristotle, the way to know the essence of a thing, what it really is, is to find out what genus it belongs to and what differentiates it from the rest of the members of that genus. A definition which comprises the genus and the differentia of a thing gives the essence of a thing. Ibn Taymīyyah argues in detail that defining a thing by pointing out its genus and differentia is not the proper way, let alone the best way. The proper and the best way to teach someone what a thing is is either to show him the thing itself, point out to him something similar to it, or describe to him its various qualities and properties. These are the ways by which we know things' common life, and not by definition as Aristotle suggests. To appreciate the value of Ibn Taymīyyah's criticism of Aristotelian definition it is enough to point out that the standard method which modern science has adopted in its quest for knowledge is the one which Ibn Taymīyyah suggests.

His second concerns syllogistic reasoning, which comprises a major and a minor premise and a conclusion which follows from them. He show that the truth of a major premise (All As are Bs) is derived from the observation of individual cases of As and Bs. Since it is not possible to observe all the cases, the truth of the major premise is based on reasoning from analogy. It is strange, therefore, that syllogistic reasoning is said to produce certain knowledge, while analogy, on which it is based, is regarded as generating only possibility. Further, in syllogistic reasoning one moves from the general to the particular, whereas knowledge of things which exist must proceed from the particular, for only individual things exist in reality, not universals.

Last, with respect to God, syllogistic reasoning is absolutely not applicable, for God is not a member of a genus; He is one and unique in His existence as well as attributes. It follows that the logic which philosophers make use of in theology is not applicable there, and the ideas which they thereby come upon, contrary to their claim that they are true and certain, are no more than mere conjectures. The correct kind of reasoning in theological matters, Ibn Taymīyyah says, is not syllogistic, but reasoning by priority (*qiyās al-awlā*). He defines this concept in this way: Every perfection which we think of in the case of created beings, and which is free from all defects, is to be affirmed for the Creator first and foremost; similar, every imperfection which we think of in the case of created beings is to be negated of the Creator prior to anyone else.[6]

Besides the basic law of logic, there are certain ethical ideas which are also part of man's original make up (*fiṭrah*). The Qur'ān says that God has endowed every human soul with the knowledge of good and evil, as well as with the sense of responsibility that one should do good and avoid evil. These ideas are not simply conventional ideas (*mashhūrāt*) whose validity is limited to the society in which they are prevalent, as philosophers think. They are part of man's *fiṭrah* and are universally true. We know of their truth prior to any revelation; in fact, they form part of the criterion on which the truth of revelation is judged.

Ibn Taymīyyah sides here with the Mu'tazilah and the Māturīdīyyah, and opposes the Asha'irah, who make the knowledge of good and evil completely independent of revelation. He says that things that are good or bad are of three kinds. First is those things which are known to be good or bad prior to their pronouncement by revelation, such as justice and truthfulness. We know the goodness of these things through reason; revelation only confirms that knowledge. Second is things that *become* good or bad after revelation has commanded or forbidden them. Third is things that God commands in order to see whether people will submit to or defy His commandments. Things that are thus commanded not to be done at all *become* good like those in the second category. An example of this kind is the command of God to Abraham to sacrifice his son. When Abraham submitted to God's command and proceeded to carry it out, the purpose of the command was served and Abraham was stopped from proceeding further, and was given a lamb to sacrifice instead. The Mu'tazilah failed to see this kind of good as well as the preceding category; they only saw the first category of good. The Asha'irah, on the other hand, thought every good to belong to the third category and negated the others.

Ibn Taymīyyah separates the question of knowledge of the good and the bad from the question of recompense in the Hereafter. Those who commit evil will not necessarily be punished by God in the Hereafter as the Mu'tazilah believe, unless God sends, Ibn Taymīyyah says, His messengers to warn them against evil deeds. He quotes many verses and the *ḥadīth* on the point.

Ibn Taymīyyah is not opposed to theology (*kalām*) as such. He distinguishes between right and wrong theology. He even recognizes that theologians like the Mu'tazilah have done service to the faith, have defended against the onslaught of other faiths and won a number of people from among them to the fold of Islam.[7] His criticism of *kalām* can be summed up in three points. First, the theologians attend only to the statements of the Qur'ān and Sunnah on credal issues, and ignore or do not pay sufficient attention to the arguments which the Qur'ān advances. Two, the arguments which they themselves advance, though they do not realize it, are not convincing. They have too much faith in the efficacy of reason, and give it priority over revelation or its understanding by the *Salaf*. They are not aware of the limitations of reason in theology. Third, some of the premises on which they build their arguments are either taken from other sources or just put forth in reaction to their opponents without critical examination of their validity. These premises often lead them to wrong consequences, such as denying a text or interpreting it wrongly and making it inoperative. They even lead them to deny some common-sense ideas which are accepted by all. Ibn Taymīyyah's effort was to work out a theology that is free from these shortcomings, is more faithful to the text of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah as understood by the *Salaf*, and is more rational and convincing.

About philosophy, Ibn Taymīyyah's attitude is completely different; it is a thoroughly critical and completely negative attitude. He may agree with one or another minor philosophical idea, but he does not see any possibility for an Islamic philosophy. He does not discuss it as an issue, but this is the impression that one gets from his criticism of philosophy and from the fact that he does not try to work out any philosophy, as he does in case of theology.

We have observed that Ibn Taymīyyah recognizes a third principle besides revelation and reason, and although he does not go into details as to how it stands with what the Ṣūfīs call *kashf* and mystical experience, he limits its efficacy and subjects it to the prophetic revelation. Ibn Taymīyyah's criticism of Ṣūfism is first in the area of doctrine, such as the doctrines of *ḥulūl*, in-dwelling of God in man, and *waḥdat al-wujūd.* In particular, he discusses the latter at length, refutes the premises on which it is based, and points out all its implications to Islamic faith and values. He reviews next the *ṭarīqah* which the Ṣūfīs developed and denounces the unauthorized innovations which they introduced in the forms of worship and remembrance of God (*dhikr*), and points out the effects which they exercise on Islamic life. It may be noted that he does not denounce the experience of *fanā* as such, which distinguishes the way of the Ṣūfī from the way of a simple ascetic (*zāhid*) and devotee (*'ābid*).[8] He also examines the ascetic and mystical orientation which Ṣūfīs have given to virtues such as abstention, love, trust, sincerity and resignation, and points out what part of it is right and what is wrong. He himself explains and elaborates them in the light of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and the practices of the *Salaf.*

On credal issues, neither reason nor mystical intuition can provide certain knowledge. The only correct source is the *waḥī* of the Prophet. A part of the prophetic *waḥī* is literally the word of God Himself, which the angel conveyed to the Prophet and is preserved in the form of the Qur'ān. Another part is an idea which God put in the Prophet's mind and which the Prophet articulated and put as the word of God. A third part is what the Prophet said under the guidance and supervision of God. Its truth is guaranteed by God; and if on any occasion any mistake creeps in, it is immediately corrected by God. Reports on the actions of the Prophet, if they are correct and have come down to us through reliable channels, are also treated as part of revelation. His actions are supervised and their correctness is guaranteed by God in the same way as his words.

Reports of the Prophet's words or the reports on his life and actions, which are called *ḥadīth* or Sunnah, are the sources of faith, values and laws. Their statements regarding things unseen provide certain knowledge regarding them, and their prescriptions lay down certain rules to guide human life and action and are imperative. These rules are either obligatory and must be carried out, or commendatory and should be followed.

Some of the *aḥādīth* report the exact words of the Prophet, some only convey their ideas, and some report very faithfully the actions of the Prophet. If these *aḥādīth* are transmitted by a number of transmitters, honest and true and with reliable memories, they are called *mutawātir*; they provide certain knowledge for belief as well as action. The *aḥādīth* which are called *khabar āḥād*, reported by one or more transmitters, fewer than those required for a *mutawātir ḥadīth*, are also to be believed and acted upon, provided the transmitters are honest and of reliable memory. These *aḥādīth* are called *ṣaḥīḥ*. The best compilation of *ṣaḥīḥ aḥādīth* is that of Al-Bukhārī and then of Muslim. *Ṣaḥīḥ aḥādīth* and to a lesser degree the *ḥasan*, or the fairly good *aḥādīth*, may also be used as arguments in matters of faith. But the *aḥādīth* which are weak (*ḍa'īf*) must be avoided. Ibn Taymīyyah goes into the rational justification of this position in different writings.

The creed which Ibn Taymīyyah presents is well grounded in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, has the support of the majority of the Elders, is more reasonable and convincing, avoids the pitfalls into which the theologians, philosophers and Ṣūfīs had landed themselves, and is put in terms comprehensible to all.

Take, for example, the existence of God. The argument which the theologians had advanced for God's existence runs like this: The world consists of bodies, which are made of atomic substances (*jawāhir fardah*) and incidents (*a'rad*). Since no substance exists without incidents, and since incidents are contingents, and since whatever is infected by incidents is contingent, the world is contingent. And whatever is contingent needs a non-contingent cause to bring it into existence, and that cause can only be God. These various premises which make up the argument are obviously not self-evident; they have to be established. Ibn Taymīyyah examines them at length and shows how they lack certainty and how the argument as a whole is far from being conclusive.[9] He also points out the consequences which follow from these premises and which conflict with the Qur'ān and Sunnah and go against common sense.

The arguments which the philosophers had advanced did not fare any better. One of the arguments which was put forward by Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā begins by distinguishing between necessary and possible existence. The underlying assumption is that the possible has an essence different from its existence, and that the essence is at one time qualified with existence and at another time with non-existence (*'adam*). But this very possibility needs to be established. Ibn Taymīyyah argues that it is far from the truth; essence is always one with existence, as the philosophers admit in the case of God.[10] Their third argument, which Aristotle and Ibn

Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) advanced and which is based on the idea of movement, is also not convincing, as Ibn Sīnā had said.[11]

The Qur'ān, Ibn Taymīyyah says, starts with the idea that the belief that the world is created is a part of the natural endowment (*fiṭrah*) of man. This is corroborated by the fact that there has been no community on the earth which has not believed in a Creator. As further support, the Qur'ān argues for the creation of man from dust, then from sperm, then from congealed blood, then from a lump out of which bones are formed which are next clothed with flesh (23:12-14). This argument is perfectly rational and convincing. Everyone knows that he is not self-born, that he is created, that at one time he did not exist and then came into existence, that his body is made of material that comes from earth, that he is produced from sperm and then from congealed blood, and then from a lump from which the bones are formed which are then clothed with flesh. Each part of this argument is open to perception and is well established. The strength of this argument is admitted by Ibn Rushd, the famous commentator on Aristotle. He hails it as the most natural argument which the prophets offer for the existence of God.[12]

As for the attributes of God, the philosophers started with the Greek idea that God must be absolutely one, simple and non-composite, that he has to be above all distinctions, mental and real. As a consequence, they interpreted His attributes negatively or reduced them to relations. All His names, they believed, only refer to His essence, of which either something is negated or of which some relation is asserted. Al-Ghazālī had examined this idea earlier and refuted it in his *Tahāfut*. Ibn Taymīyyah carries the criticism further. His point is that the existence of positive attributes like knowledge are not other than He: they are one with Him. Hence it is not right to say that God is dependent upon something other than

Himself. Further, a being devoid of all attributes is simply a mental abstraction, a void, a non-entity.

For the Mu'tazilah, the reason for denying the existence of attributes was different. They thought that it either implied plurality of eternal beings if the attributes are taken as eternal, or the existence of contingent things in God if they are taken as contingent, which would render God contingent. To avoid these circumstances, they reduced either the attributes to mere relations (e.g. knowledge as the relation of the Divine Essence with the object known), or the states of the Divine Essence like knowing (*al-'ạlimīyyah*), which were said to be neither existing nor non-existing. Ibn Taymīyyah refutes this argument by saying that to affirm the existence of attributes is not to posit in any sense the existence of independent entities other than God. Neither is it the hypostasization of attributes on Christian lines, which the Mu'tazilah wanted to avoid.

The Ash'arīs, Ibn Taymīyyah recognizes, developed a better concept of God's attributes. They affirmed of Him seven essential attributes: knowledge, power, will, life, hearing, sight and speech. They said that these attributes are not the same as the Divine Essence, for they have existence over and above the Essence, not reducible to mere relations or states. Nor are they different from the Essence, as they do not exist separately from the Essence, neither by themselves nor by anything other than the Essence. God is one single Being, one Essence qualified with attributes. We can only distinguish between Essence and the attributes in thought, not in reality. Out there there is no pure Essence devoid of all attributes, nor is there any attribute existing there by itself.

The Asha'irah, however, conceived of each one of these seven attributes of God as a single eternal attribute working independently of His will for fear that it would make them contingent. They said, for example, that God knows everything past, present and future with one eternal will, and speaks every word with one eternal speech; for they thought that the alternative was to posit a plurality of contingent knowledges, wills, and speeches which would render the Divine Essence the locus of contingent things and jeopardize its eternity. Ibn Taymīyyah concedes that this is true only of God's life and existence, but not of His will, speech and other attributes, since that would imply the eternity of their objects, willed, spoken, seen, etc. Obviously, the subject of God's will, for example, which is all powerful, cannot be conceived to lag behind His will. It is also obvious that one will is not another will, and knowledge of one thing is not knowledge of another thing; even knowledge of the same thing before its existence is not same as knowledge after its coming into existence.

Ibn Taymīyyah says that the correct solution to this problem is to distinguish between an eternal will and contingent wills, between eternal knowledge and contingent knowledges, between eternal speech and contingent speeches. God's will as a class is one and eternal, but His individual knowledges are multiple and contingent; His speech as a class is one and eternal, but His individual speech acts are multiple and contingent, for all individual wills, knowledges, and speeches depend on one eternal will, and what depends on will is contingent. This solution to the problem is not free from difficulty, but it is certainly more reasonable.

As philosophers conceived of God as being obviously simple and beyond all distinctions, and denied as a result His will and action, they considered the world as proceeding out from God necessarily, without any non-being intervening. It was also eternal because there was not any time before the worlds came into existence, for time is the measure of movement and there was nothing there to move before the world came into being. Al-Ghazālī had refuted in detail in his *Taḥāfut* the argument of the philosophers for the eternity of the world; he had affirmed its contingency, and had shown that it was created by the will of God. But like the other Ash'arīs he maintained that God creates everything with His eternal will. As to the question why God should create a thing at one particular time and not at another, when every time is equal for an eternal and all-powerful will, the answer that he and other Ash'arīs gave was that an eternal, all-powerful will was sufficient in itself to create anything any time.

The Mu'tazilah, in the opposite view, posited contingent wills for God not existing in any locus.[13] They came out with the idea of a will without a locus to avoid the existence of contingent things in the Divine Essence. They also asserted that in the beginning God was not creative and only became creative afterwards. This implies, Ibn Taymīyyah says, either His inactivity for a time or His i*nabī*lity, neither of which is to be attributed to Him.[14] His view on the subject is that God is and has ever been creative. His will as a class is eternal, and things of the world as a class are also eternal, but since they are the results of individual wills which are contingent, as individual things they are also contingent.

Both the philosophers and the Ash'arīs were of the view that God does not act in order to achieve anything in... His actions are not motivated by any motive nor done with any purpose. For the Asha'irah, things are produced by the eternal will of God, hence the world as it is could not have been different. For the philosophers, on the other hand, the world is the emergence of things in existence in their time according as they are in the knowledge of God from eternity. The difference between them may be stated as follows: The philosophers deny purpose because they do not attribute any will to God; they think that will implies want, which cannot be ascribed to God. The Ash‘arīs deny purpose, not because God does not have will; they do attribute will to Him, but they think that to ascribe purpose to Him means attributing imperfection to Him that He seeks to overcome by producing the thing He has in mind. They think that God's will is all-powerful and self-sufficient and needs no purpose or reason to move it.

Ibn Taymīyyah refutes the point that purpose necessarily implies want. He says that God's actions are the expressions of His knowledge and power, and He loves to exercise them, but they do have a reason and a purpose. He quotes texts from the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, which affirm reason for God's actions, and at the same time deny any want on His part, and affirm His complete self-sufficiency.

The Mu‘tazilah attribute reason and purpose to God's will. They say that He has created men, and sent prophets and messengers to them with His messages and books so that they may live a good life and may be rewarded for their good deeds. Ibn Taymīyyah appreciates this point, but he says that it is not right to relate purpose to creatures alone. There are texts, he points out, which also relate purpose to God Himself. He does want people to remember Him, glorify Him, worship Him, and obey His commandments, as well as fear Him, love Him, and put trust in Him. And when they worship Him and obey Him, He is pleased with them and loves them, but this does not mean that He needs their worship, their praises, or their obedience. It also does not mean that He was incomplete without them; on the contrary, He does these things because He loves them.

One may point out that, although God sends the prophets for the good of mankind, and a number of them who believe in them and follow them benefit from this act of God, many others who do not believe in them suffer. What wisdom (*ḥikmah*) is there in an action which causes colossal suffering besides immense good? The Mu'tazilah tried to meet this objection by saying that the prophets are sent only to those who believe in them and obey them and not for those who do not believe in them and defy them. For God does not will anything which is evil, nor does He will anything which does not happen. This answer is obviously not correct, for if God has not sent the prophets to the disbelievers and the defiers, why should He punish them for their disbelief and disobedience? It is also not true that disbelief or disobedience occur without God's will.

Ibn Taymīyyah affirms, on the contrary, that whatever good or bad happens in the world happens with God's permission, and is brought out by His will and power. He points out that God's will is of two kinds, creative and prescriptive. Sending the prophets, giving them a message and ordering them to follow it is part of His prescriptive will, which implies that what He commands is also loved by Him. However, man is free to submit to His prescriptive will. If he obeys His commands he will be rewarded; if he defies them he will be punished. And everything God commands is good and approved of and loved by Him. As for the creative will, its object may be good and may be evil, as it does not involve His approval or disapproval. All those who deny or defy the prophets are addressed by God's message and are the objects of His prescriptive will, just as those who believe in the prophets and submit to them. God wills, in this sense of will, the good of each and every human being, believer and unbeliever, obedient and sinful. But the lack of faith and the misdeeds of the former are willed and created only by His creative will. Similarly, the suffering which is the recompense of lack of faith and misdeeds is also produced by His creative will.

It may, however, happen that God wills something good which involves some evil, as He sends rain for the good of the people but which may also cause suffering to some. But in such cases the good always outweighs the evil. Similarly, the good that follows from sending the prophets also outweighs the evil which may follow from it in the form of suffering for those who reject them.

The philosophers viewed bodies as consisting of matter and form, which is the sum of all the essential properties to which a thing inheres. They believed that the form of a thing is unalterable. Fir, for example, whose property is to burn, will never cease to burn, or water, whose property is to cool, will never cease to cool. They believed that there is a necessary connection between cause and effect. On that ground they rejected miracles except in appearance. Al-Ghazālī subjected this view of causality to scathing criticism in the *Taḥāfut*. He denied that things in themselves have any fixed form, nature or property, and that one thing causes another. Everything, he said is caused directly by the will of God. What people call cause is only a condition, the only cause is the will of God.

Ibn Taymīyyah refutes bothse doctrines, the doctrine of the philosophers that things have unalterable form, and the doctrine of Al-Ghazālī and the Ash'arīs that things have no form or nature at all, and that nothing causes anything and is simply a condition for its existence. He affirms both form and causality, but only denies that form is unalterable. This makes miracles possible. The reason which he cites for affirming causality is the one which Ibn Rushd had pointed out earlier - that it would otherwise make knowledge impossible.[15]

As a consequence of their denial of will and knowledge of particular things to God, the philosophers also refused to attribute speech to Him. Instead, they attributed it to the Active Intellect, which they identified with Gabriel. They also denied that the prophet's experience with Gabriel was an external experience. They said that prophets hear words and see figures inside themselves, not outside. On all these points, Ibn Taymīyyah shows, they go against the clear texts of the Qur'ān and Sunnah. The Mu'tazilah recognized only three attributes of God (life, knowledge and power) as real attributes, and treated the rest as relations, states or negative attributes. Therefore, they could not recognize speech as an attribute existing in the Divine Essence. They said that when God speaks, it only means that He creates speech in something other than Him.

Ibn Taymīyyah ridiculed this view, saying that this is not what we mean when we say X speaks, or X is the speaker. We say that only when words are spoken by X, or when it is X who is the speaker. We call X living or knowing or moving when X himself is alive or knows or moves, and not when he brings someone else to life, or produces knowledge in some being, or causes movement in some body; similar, we can only say that God speaks or that He is the speaker when it is He Who speaks, and not when He creates the speech in something else.

The Asha'irah recognized speech as a real and essential attribute of God. But they said, as they said in the case of His knowledge, will and power, that He speaks with His eternal speech. Since they did not distinguish between speech as a class, which is one and eternal, and individual speech acts, which are multiple and contingent, they said that God speaks with one eternal speech. It is one single speech, whether it is a command, prohibition or statement, and it is one single speech which when put in Hebrew was called Torah, when put in Syriac was called Gospel, and when put in Arabic was called Qur'ān. To justify these outrageous statements, they said that God's speech should be understood as mental speech, without words or sounds, only as an idea or meaning.

Ibn Taymīyyah subjects this view to scathing criticism. His own view, which he says is the faith of the *Salaf*, begins with the description of speech as eternal and as contingent. He says that the speech of God as a class is eternal. God has been speaking from eternity when and as He has chosen to speak. But particular speech acts of His are not eternal. Further, as objects of His will they are contingent. However, they are not to be called created (*makhlūq*), for speech is related to the speaker in a way different from the way the sun, the moon, a lion, or a man whom God has created are related to Him. Speech exists in God, but the sun, moon, lion and man exist out there separate from God. The statement that the Qur'ān is neither eternal (*qadīm*) nor created, underscores this special relation which God's speech has with Him.

The Qur'ān is literally the word of God. Its meaning as well as its words are from God; and the Qur'ān in both essences is uncreated, though not eternal. Gabriel got it from God as such, and delivered it to the Prophet without adding anything to it or subtacting anything from it. And the Prophet likewise delivered it to his people without any change whatsoever. So the Qur'ān that we have is the word of God exactly as He spoke it to Gabriel. It was the same word of God which was written down in the *muṣḥaf* during the time of Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, the same word of God which Muslims have been transcribing since then in their *muṣḥafs*. Similarly, the words of the Qur'ān that anyone recites and hears from any reciter are the words of God. In all these forms, the Qur'ān is the uncreated word of God. However, the ink and the paper which are used in writing, as well as the act of writing, are ours; they belong to man and are created. Similarly, the voice in which the Qur'ān is read or recited, as well as the act of reading and reciting, are human voices and acts and are created.

Ibn Taymīyyah's general stand on divine attributes is that whatever attributes God and His Prophet have affirmed of God should be affirmed, and whatever they have negated of Him should be negated, and what they have neither affirmed nor negated should be analyzed first. Concerning the last category, if the affirmation implies something which agrees with what God and the Prophet have affirmed, it may be affirmed, otherwise not. However, regarding the names of God, only those names are to be affirmed which have been affirmed by God and the Prophet, even if the proposed name has nothing wrong with it.

Second, the attributes of God which are also predicated of His creatures are not to be compared with the attributes of the creatures. They are absolutely non-similar and unique. Creatures in no sense participate in the attributes of the Creator, just as they do not participate in His essence. There is nothing common between them except in name. Third, they should be taken on their *ẓāhir*; that is, they should be understood in the sense they ordinarily mean, or, as we say, they should be taken at face value; they should not be interpreted metaphorically. However, this does not mean that the Qur'ān does not use metaphors; it does. But whenever it does there is invariably an indication by its speaker to that effect. Hence, when, following such an indication, a word of the Qur'ān is interpreted in a non-literal or metaphorical sense, it is the *ẓāhir* of that word there.

The attributes of God which are called *aṣ-ṣifāt al-khabarīyyah*, such as *istiwā*, descent (*nuzūl*), face (*wajh*), eye (*'ayn*), hand (*yad*), shank (*sāq*) or anger (*ghaḍab*), love (*ḥubb*), pleasure (*riḍā*) smile (*ḍaḥik*), and so on, which we know only through revelation, are also to be taken on their *ẓāhir*, that is, as they are ordinarily understood. Similarly, when God is called Al-ʻĀlī or Al-Aʻlā, the Most High, or when He is said to be above (*fawq*) the heavens, His *'ulū* and *fawqīyyah*, transcendence or being-above should be understood in the sense they ordinarily mean (*ẓāhir*). However, their modality (*kayfīyyah*) should not be conceived on human pattern. What exactly God's transcendence or being-above means, or what their mode is, is not known to us, even though we know what they ordinarily mean and know that they should be taken in that sense. The same applies to all the attributes which we have mentioned or which belong to their category. Apparently the sense in which Ibn Taymīyyah takes God's *ma'īyyah* being with man or any creature, seems to be inconsistent with his general stand, for he understands it in the sense of knowing, watching of helping. However, the truth is that it is fully consistent with his general stand, for as we have said, the interpretation of a word in a non-literal sense is also the *ẓāhir* meaning of the word if there is an indication by the speaker to that meaning. Ibn Taymīyyah shows that every time *ma'īyyah* is mentioned in the Qur'ān, God has in some way indicated that He uses the word in the non-literal sense.

This is Ibn Taymīyyah's position, not only with regard to the *ṣifat khabarīyyah*, but also with regard to all other attributes. It is one of the most important points of his creed. He has stated and defended it in many of his writings, and it was due to that that he was twice jailed. He argued that this was exactly the position of the *Salaf* and that he was only stating their faith. To support his claim, he quotes profusely from them. Generally, philosophers and theologians who interpret these attributes on metaphorical lines do so because, so they claim, they imply a body for God and anthropomorphize Him. Ibn Taymīyyah discusses this charge at length and refutes it.

Let us now move to the second part of the creed, prophethood. God chooses men from different nations at a time of His choosing, reveals to them His message and sends them to their peoples to guide them to the right path. If He sends a person to his people who already believe in some prophet, but who do not act upon his teachings, he is a *nabī*, prophet. But if He sends one to a people who are unbelievers (*kāfir*) or polytheists (*mushrik*) he is *rasūl*, messenger. Scholars have distinguished between *nabī* and *rasūl* in various ways, but this is how Ibn Taymīyyah distinguishes between them.

Prophets and messengers are the best men of their communities, with the best powers of mind and heart, most righteous and very respectable in their society. But prophethood should not be treated as a natural gift, nor the prophet as one who has greater talents than others. Prophethood is a special gift from God to a person whom He chooses for some important task; He endows him with some special powers to accomplish those tasks and He helps him in supernatural ways. Al-Fārābī first, followed by Ibn Sīnā next, and then other philosophers, even some Ṣūfīs, conceived of prophethood as a natural phenomenon. They said that the prophet is only distinguished from other people in that he has a better and more powerful faculty to know things, an extraordinarily strong imagination which presents to him his idea in visible forms in waking or in dreams, and a highly developed psychic power which works wonders.

Ibn Taymīyyah reviews in detail this view of prophethood. He points out that, first, prophethood is not a natural phenomenon, that it is not something which the prophets earn; on the contrary, it is simply a divine gift. Second, his revelations are not the ideas which he himself discovers or works out; they are given to him by God. Third, the angel that comes to him and the things of the *Ghayb* which appear in his vision are realities which exist outside his mind, not within it; they are not at all the creations of his imagination. And the miracles which he works are not the work of his psychic powers; they are brought by God with His Own powers. Further, they are not like the wonders of soothsayers, diviners, and magicians, which do not breach the ordinary laws of nature; they do in reality breach natural laws.

One way to distinguish a real prophet from an imposter is by looking into the wonders they work. Knowledge of things in the future which an imposter mentions are not free from elements that are false; the effects he produces on natural objects are superficial and hardly breach the laws of nature; and the extraordinary experiences he has are caused by Satan. They produce no good effect either on his life or on the lives of his people. On the other hand, the best proof of a true prophet is his life, his teachings, his work and his effect on human beings.

Ibn Taymīyyah has discussed the different forms of *waḥī*, or revelation, which the prophet receives. One form is imparting an idea in the mind of the prophet while awake or asleep. This form is not confined to prophets; it is also given to non-prophets, men and women, who have faith and piety. The second form of *waḥī* is that which is given only to the prophet by an angel, who delivers it either directly to the heart of the prophet or appears to him in human form or in his own angelic form and delivers the *waḥī*. The third kind of *waḥī* is the word of God which He directly addresses to the prophet, as He did to the Moses at Sinai or to Muḥammad during his ascension (*mi'rāj*),

The third article of faith is life hereafter. Philosophers have had various opinions on this subject. Al-Kindī (d. 247/861) affirmed the resurrection of the body. Al-Fārābī (d. 329/950) had three opinion which he expressed in his different books. In *Al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah* (The Ideal City), he says that all human beings will survive death, the virtuous as well as the wicked. The former will enjoy eternal happiness and the latter will suffer eternal damnation.[16] But in *As-Siyāsah al-Madanīyyah*, on the other hand, he says that only those souls which are perfect in knowledge and virtue will survive death and enjoy happiness thereafter, but the ones which are ignorant and wicked shall perish with death.[17] The third view, which Ibn Taymīyyah also attributes to Al-Fārābī but which is not found in his extant writings, denies resurrection altogether, of the body as well as the soul. Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1036) affirms the resurrection of the body along with the resurrection of the soul[18] in his *An-Najāt* and other writings,[19] but in *Ar-Risālah al-Udhuwīyyah* he affirms only the resurrection of the soul.[20] This is the view which most philosophers held.

The reason that the soul, or the rational soul, to be more precise, will survive death, whereas the body will perish forever, lies deep in the metaphysics which the philosophers borrowed from their Greek masters, according to which pure reason and the immaterial realities that are its object of contemplation are alone everlasting. However, the argument which Ibn Sīnā offers may be stated as follows: so far as the soul is concerned, everyone believes that it will survive death. The body, on the other hand, everyone knows decomposes and is mixed with other particles of the earth. From that part of the earth grow various crops which are eaten by men and animals and become part of their bodies. When they die their bodies again decompose and are assimilated into the earth, from which other crops grow which are again eaten by different men and animals and are assimilated into their bodies. This process goes on. How then, he asks, are the original particles that constitute the body of the first man to be re-collected? They are no longer intact; they are scattered and assimilated in hundreds of bodies. Again, the particles which once formed part of one became part of a second man and then of a third man. Whose part will they be regarded as, and whose body will they form when resurrected?[21]

Ibn Taymīyyah says that it is not all difficult for God to recreate from the material into which one's body turns after decomposition. The Qur'ān cites cases which God has created from the material into which bodies have turned after decomposition. One such case is that of a person who died, and whose body decomposed and became part of the earth in a hundred years (2:259). The Qur'ān asks why people should wonder that God could create man once again from the earth. Did He not create him from dust in the beginning, and then from sperm, then turned the sperm into a clot of blood, then the clot into flesh, and from the flesh did He not create bones, and finally a perfect man? (23:12-14) If it was possible for God to transform dust into sperm, and the sperm into a clot of blood, and that into bones, and then clothe it with flesh, and finally form a man, why can He not create man from dust again? Every day God is creating innumerable things from other things by transforming one into another, such as the dried earth into green crops, and the dust into a variety of insects and animals on the earth, in the air and under the sea. It asks further why it should be difficult for God to create man again when it was not difficult for the One Who has created greater things like the heavens and earth to create a smaller thing like man. (37:257).

Further, it is not necessary that God create an individual from the same material into which his or her body has decomposed; He can create from similar material. After all, the body that an individual will have in the next life will not be the same body which or she had earlier. It will be a body similar to the earlier body in some respects and different in others. In fact, it will be a body quite different in size, immensely larger than the former, able to live forever, not just a few years as it is now, a body which will not procreate, which will neither sweat nor pass urine or stool. To the objection that it will not then be the same body, the answer is that it will be in a sense the same body. Even our present bodies in old age is not exactly the same bodies that they were in our youth, or that they were in our infancy, or that they were when we were in the wombs of our mothers. But we do call them the same bodies, and consider them to be our bodies. In the same way the bodies that we will have in the Hereafter will be our bodies, though they will be different in some respects from our present bodies.

The first important idea of Ibn Taymīyyah's regarding man is that he has a particular *fiṭrah.* Drawing upon the verse, "Set your face steadily and truly to the faith, the handiwork of God on which He has created mankind" (30:30), and the *ḥadīth*, "Every child is born with the *fiṭrah*; it is their parents who thereafter turn him or her into a Jew, a Christian, or a Magian,"[22] Ibn Taymīyyah asserts that human beings are born with a definite nature (*fiṭrah*) which provides the grounds for Islamic obligation. We have referred to this concept earlier. We have said that Ibn Taymīyyah finds rational justification for Islam in the original nature (*fiṭrah*) of man. There are some ideas which are, he says, part of the human mind, necessary and self-evident as Descarte calls them, or *a priori*, as Kant characterized them. Some of them were singled out by Aristotle and made part of logic; others lie at basis of the mathematical sciences; still others form the grounds on which the moral codes of man are based. Belief in the Creator, too, is part of *fiṭrah.*

We have already mentioned these ideas. We will now add that Ibn Taymīyyah's concept of *fiṭrah* is wider than this. He says that it is also part of *fiṭrah* that God is one, that He is qualified with all the perfection we can think of, that we should be thankful to God for the blessings He bestows on us, that we should glorify Him, worship Him, and submit to Him. *Fiṭrah* has also biological, social and psychological facets. When we say that man is a social being, that he has certain biological and psychological needs which are to be fulfilled in a proper way, we are referring to another part of *fiṭrah*. It is *fiṭrah* in this comprehensive sense which is the basis of Islam. Islam does not want to change this *fiṭrah*; it only wants to perfect it. No one before Ibn Taymīyyah had ever elaborated the concept of *fiṭrah* in the way he did.

The idea that man is free within certain limits, that his actions are his actions, that he is responsible for what he does and is accountable for it is also a part of his *fiṭrah*. Freedom within limits and responsibility for the deeds one does are inalienable parts of human conscience. They are not contradicted by the belief, which is also part of *fiṭrah*, that God is all-powerful. *Fiṭrah* is a harmonious whole; one part of it does not conflict with another, provided each is conceived of and pursued in the right way. This is the fact to which the Qur'ān refers when it says, "We have created man on the best of patterns (95:4). Ibn Taymīyyah explains at length that God's omnipotence and foreordainment of things are not inconsistent with man's freedom and responsibility. The belief of the determinist that man has no freedom of will at all has no basis in the *fiṭrah* nor in the Qur'ān and Sunnah. Nor is there any reason for the Mu'tazilah, on the other hand, to limit God's omnipotence and place human acts outside His power and ordainment. There is no contradiction in saying that man is free to choose and do his deeds, while their actual happening depends on the will of God and is brought out by His power. Man is the doer of his deeds while God is their Creator.

On this issue, the Asha'irah also went wrong. They overemphasized God's omnipotence and reduced the efficacy of human will. In addition to asserting that God is the Creator of human acts, they made Him their doer to a great extent. Some of them even said very clearly that there is only one agent there - God. Ibn Taymīyyah rejects this view and says that besides violating common sense, this doctrine goes against Qur'ānic statements. The Qur'ān unambiguously refers various actions to man and calls him their doer. Ibn Taymīyyah also points out that the doctrine of a single Divine Agency paves the way for monistic Ṣūfīs and philosophers to say that God alone exists. The correct view, Ibn Taymīyyah says, is to affirm the reality of both divine and human wills and show that there is no contradiction between them.

For the philosophers, the goal of human life and the ultimate happiness of man lie in the perfection of reason, in the comprehension of ultimate realities and contemplation of them. This is the way, they believe, to imitate God, whom they reduce to a self-thinking thought. For Ṣūfīs the goal of man and his ultimate happiness lie either in the direct knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of reality (*ḥaqq*), self-annihilation (*fanā'*) in God and union (*jam'*) with Him, or the realization that Being is one (*waḥdat al-wujūd*). The goal of the philosophers follows from their metaphysics, and the goal of the Ṣūfīs follows from their mystical experience.

Ibn Taymīyyah says that this question is not to be decided in the light of metaphysics or mystical experience, for neither reason nor experience is competent enough to pronounce a verdict on this issue; and in fact, there is no need to invoke either. We have the Qur'ān and the Sunnah which give a clear answer to this question. The Qur'ān and Sunnah directly state that man is the servant (*'abd*) of God, and the purpose of his creation is to serve Him. It is in the service (*'ibādah*) of God, that is, in worshiping Him and obeying His commands, that man's happiness lies. Only by serving Him and working for His religion will man achieve the purpose of his life, not by knowing Reality, or losing himself in God, or realizing that Being is one.

Some people think that this *'ibādah,* which is the goal of man's life, only means to worship God, to glorify Him, to offer *ṣalāh*, keep the fast, perform *'umrah* and ḥajj, offer sacrifice, read the Qur'ān and recite God's names. These are certainly *'ibādah*, but not the whole of *'ibādah*. *'Ibādah* means to submit to God in humility and love. Everything which one says or does in submission to God with humility and love is *'ibādah*, whether it is worship, pursuit of virtue, or compliance with divine commandments in any part of life, individual or social, whether it concerns an action of the body, like *ṣalāh* and *jihād,* or action of the mind like faith and *dhikr*, or feelings of the heart like fear, love and trust.

Not only is the goal of man's life and his ultimate happiness to be derived from the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, their details are also to be learned from the same source. How God is to be worshiped, what virtues are to be cultivated, what values are to be pursued, what norms are to be followed, what duties are obligatory, what acts are recommended, and what things are permitted - all these are to be learned form the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. All questions regarding values, norms, and priorities are to be decided on the basis of the *shar'*, not on any other basis, be it social tradition or mystical experience.

Similarly, the way to serve God best, or how to be a perfect servant of God is also to be learned from the Qur'ān and Sunnah. The Prophet was sent to teach the way to God, the way to purify oneself, to cultivate virtues and piety, to seek God's pleasure (*riḍā*) and nearness (*qurb*). That way (*ṭarīqah*) he fully explained. His companions, by following that *ṭarīqah*, did attain the goal of their lives, their ultimate happiness. Ibn Taymīyyah states all the principal elements of the prophetic *sulūk*: *ṣalāh*, fasting, reading the Qur'ān, *dhikr*, righteous living, loving mankind, preaching Islam, bidding the good and forbidding the evil, and *jihād* in the cause of God. He says that the details of all these elements as the Prophet taught them and the Companions practiced them have been fully preserved and are available to everyone.

Over centuries the Ṣūfīs worked out their own ways (*ṭarīqah)* and pursued their own *sulūk*. They took various elements from the prophetic *sulūk*, but added many things to it. Ibn Taymīyyah mentions two of them in particular. One was the practice of *khalwah*, to retire to a secluded place away from people, to a cave in the mountains or a place in the forest, or to a *zāwīyyah* or *khanqah* built for the purpose, to devote oneself to worship and devotion for a specific period, forty days, for example. Ṣūfīs set a high value on this practice and seek support for it from the retiring of the Prophet to the cave of Ḥira' in his pre-prophetic period. This practice, Ibn Taymīyyah says, is a *bid'ah*, an unjustified innovation. In principle, the actions of the Prophet in pre-prophetic days are not enough to prove that it is his *sunnah* or that we should follow it. It may be noted that during the whole prophetic period he never visited the cave of Ḥira'', though he could have if he had so wished, nor any other cave. Furthermore, none of his Companions retreated to any cave during his lifetime. Had it been something desirable the Prophet would have recommended it to his people.

The second thing to which Ibn Taymīyyah strongly objects concerns the Ṣūfīs' practice of *dhikr*. He says that all the *dhikr* which the Prophet taught and which are preserved in the books of Ḥadīth are meaningful sentences. There is nothing in them like saying merely the word Allah or the pronoun *hū* (He). Such is reported neither from the Prophet, nor from any of his Companions. This practice is an innovation of the Ṣūfīs and is completely unjustified. Al-Ghazālī is more mistaken when he says that *lā ilāha illā Allah* is the *dhikr* of the common man, and saying *Allah* is the *dhikr* of the elite.

The most important part of the Ṣūfī *sulūk* is the experience of *fanā*. Ibn Taymīyyah knows well that it was part of the prophetic *sulūk*. Later Ṣūfīs like Sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624) and Shah Walī Allah (d. 1176/1762) of India have clearly said that it was never part of the prophetic *ṭarīqah*.[23] Nevertheless, Ibn Taymīyyah does not call it *bid'ah*. He only objects when a Ṣūfī like Shaykh 'Abdullah Al-Anṣārī Al-Ḥarwī (d. 481/1088) extols the experience as the goal of *sulūk*,[24] or when one like Ibn 'Arabī builds on it the doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).

Ibn Taymīyyah's strongest and most vehement criticism of *taṣawwūf* is directed against the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. As expounded by Ibn 'Arabī, the doctrine stands on two premises. First, the essence of a thing is other than its existence, and it is not a mere non-entity, but something which exists there before it is qualified with existence. Second, the existence of God is identical with the existence of the world.[25] Ibn Taymīyyah refutes bothse doctrines. We have noted earlier that he is a thoroughgoing nominalist. Hence, starting from that position, it is not difficult for him to refute the reality of the essence prior to its existence. It is easy to see the reason he refutes the identification of God's existence with the existence of the world. He denies in principle anything as absolute existence, or existence as such. What exists out there is this thing or that thing, and the existence of one thing is not the existence of the other. The existence of God is the existence of God, and the existence of the world is the existence of the world. One is not identical with the other. Existence as such is only a mental abstraction, not a reality.

Other grounds on which Ibn Taymīyyah assails the doctrine of the unity of being are those damaging consequences to religion, morality, and life which follow from it. For example, it follows that God's attributes are not real, they are mere relations; the world proceeds from Him necessarily and is not created by His will; man has no will of his own; his actions are done not by him but by God; it is God Who believes or disbelieves and who does good and does evil; it is He Who worships and He Who is worshiped, He Who kills and He Who is killed; there is nothing good or bad in itself; faith and unfaith are one; *tawḥīd* is the same as *shirk*; the worship of idols or gods other than God is the worship of God, for there is no one in existence other than God; the call of the prophets to worship one God is a guile, for there is no god in existence other than God; Hell is not a place of suffering but of joy, different from the joy of Paradise.

Some Ṣūfīs, on the basis of their experiences, the ideas that they get in *kashf*, or the powers they have developed, have said that their *walayāt* is better than the *walāyah* of the prophets, or a *walī* is greater than a *nabī*. They have also said that, like the seal of the prophets, there is also a seal of the saints. Ibn Taymīyyah examines these ideas and shows that they are untrue, that no *walī* is greater than a *nabī*, or even equal to one. Further, no *walī* can dispense with the revelation and the guidance of the *nabī*. For a man to secure God's *walāyah*, friendship and support, two things are required: faith in God and obedience to His Prophet. Whoever has faith and follows the Prophet is a *walī* of God. It is not necessary for him to follow a Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah*, have mystical experiences, acquire *kashf* and work wonders; *walāyah* is open to everyone, be he a farmer, trader, scholar, *mujāhid* or ruler.

Ibn Taymīyyah reviews the interpretations which Ṣūfīs give to religious virtues such as abstinence (*zuhd*) and love (*war'*), trust and *riḍā*. He shows what part of them is correct in the light of the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, and the words and practices of the Elders, and what part is influenced by their own experiences and ideas. Ibn Al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) before him had made a similar review in his *Talbīs Iblīs.* Ibn Taymīyyah goes beyond him and expounds in detail what these virtues positively mean in the light of the Qur'ān and Sunnah. This task was further carried out by his disciple, Ibn Al-Qayyīm (d. 751/1350) in his *Madārij as-Sālikīn* and other writings.

An Islamic society is an organized society. Its affairs are to be managed by a government. If there is no government, the community is required to establish one. Except for some innovationist sects like the Khawārij, the rest of the *ummah* is agreed that it is the *duty* of the community to establish a government (*imāmah*) which manages its affairs, promotes its well-being and secures its happiness, establishes the daily prayers, the prayers on Fridays and *'īd* occasions, organizes the ḥajj, collects and distributes the *zakāh*, promotes the true faith and protects it from idolatrous practices, supervises the morals of the society, enjoins the good and forbids the evil, enforces the *hudūd* punishments, administers justice in all affairs, social, political and economic, maintains peace and order, and protects the community from disruptive elements within and from invading forces without. In short, it establishes the religion (*iqāmat ad-dīn*) in all aspects.

Opinions have differed as to whether the basis of this obligation is reason for the *shar'*. Some Mu'tazilah consider it to be rational and *shar'ī*, while the Asha'irah consider it to be purely *shar'ī*. Ibn Taymīyyah, in consonance with his general position with regard to good and evil, states that it is rational as well as *shar'ī*. Man is a social being; he cannot be happy or secure his well-being unless he lives in an organized society ruled by a just government. The Prophet has commanded a party of just rulers to set up a leader over them and obey his commands. He would all the more like that the community set up a government and obey its regulation. Many of the provisions of the Sharī'ah, such as the collection and the distribution of *zakāh*, the enforcement of *ḥudūd*, establishment of justice, and so on, require an effective government. There are verses in the Qur'ān and many *aḥādīth* of the Prophet which explicitly command Muslims to obey their rulers and order the rulers to fulfill their duties towards the people. Hence the setting up of a strong government is both a rational and *shar'ī* obligation on the community. Not only an obligation, every effort to establish it and serve it in any capacity once it is set up is one of the most commendable acts which secure God's pleasure (*riḍā*) and favor (*qurb*). It is not at all a secular occupation, as many ignorant people think

The concept of an Islamic government on which there is consensus in the *ummah* is that the real ruler is God. He has created the people, and it is for Him to rule them. Sovereignty is His, and He is the Law-giver and the Ruler. Human rulers are to exercise their power and authority within the limits set by God, according to the law given by Him, in the way prescribed by Him, and for the purpose laid down by Him, either directly or through His Prophet. They are also accountable before Him for each and everything they will do. In other words, authority is a trust (*amānah*) from God, and people act as trustees. Ibn Taymīyyah prefers to use the term *amānah* rather than *khilāfah*. He thinks that the imām, the highest authority in the government, should not be called the deputy (*khalīfah*, or caliph) of God, which implies, in his view, the absence of the real authority or his inability to rule personally. Much can be said against his assumption. It will be sufficient, however, to point out that in actual practice there is no difference between an *amīr* and a *khalīfah*; the difference between them is only a matter of semantics.

The head of the Islamic state and the chief ruler of the government, the imām or the *khalīfah*, is to be chosen from among the Muslim community. Is it necessary that he be from the tribe of Quraysh? On this point most Muslim thinkers have said that he should be a Qurayshī. The Khawārij were the first to differ from that condition and believed that any Muslim could be imām provided he fulfilled the other requirements. From among the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, Qāḍī Abū Bakr Al-Baqillānī (d. 404/1013), as Ibn Khaldūn has said, also believed that the post was open to all Muslims.[26] Ibn Taymīyyah sides with the majority view, but says that if a competent Qurayshī is not available, a non-Qurayshī may be chosen.

On the procedure for the election of an imām, the constitution of an electoral college (*ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aqd*), and the ratification of the elected imām by the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from the community, Ibn Taymīyyah subscribes to the view of the majority of the scholars. However, with regard to the qualifications for *imāmah*, he is more realistic than his predecessors, Al-Mawrādī (d. 450/1058) and Abū Ya'lā (d. 490/1097).

It is possible for an imām to make mistakes or commit sins. Like the scholars of the Ahl as-Sunnah, Ibn Taymīyyah rejects in the strongest terms the Shī'ī doctrine of the infallibility and innocence of the imām, as he rejects in unequivocal terms their effort to confine the *imāmah* to the family of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, may God be pleased with them. He is also one with the majority of the Sunnīs' view that the imām may be deposed by the people if he fails to perform certain of his duties. However, obedience to the imām in things that are not wrong is a bound duty on the people. They are only to abstain from obedience when it involves sin against God.

*Imāmah* or *khilāfah* as defined above is the correct and the proper kind of government in Islam. But if someone seizes power and establishes his rule and acts according to the Sharī'ah, it will be acceptable on grounds of expediency. Monarchy (*mulk*) is a legitimate form of government under certain conditions, but it is not at all the ideal Islamic government. Its legitimacy is based on the fact that the effort needed to change it may cause more harm than good. Though legitimate on grounds of expediency, a monarchy is bound by the same rules as the caliphate; so it should work within the same limits and according to the same laws. Absolute monarchy is inconceivable in Islam.

The constitution of the caliphal government, the distribution of powers among the authorities, and other matters of detail are open questions to be decided by the community in the light of the traditions of the rightly guided caliphs (*al-khulafā' ar-rāshidūn*). The guiding principle should be how to accomplish best the objectives which God has set before the Islamic government and how to secure the well-being of all sections of the community, not only that of a person, family, tribe, class or section.

These are some important aspects of the great innovative work which Ibn Taymīyyah did on the plane of ideas. We have not touched on all the aspects. The reader may go through the pages of this book and find others from the words of the *Shaykh al-Islām* himself. He will certainly find them no less illuminating and inspiring. Ibn Taymīyyah did not limit himself to expounding ideas; he preached them, fought for them and bore patiently all the suffering that his opponents might inflict on him. For the cause he was sent to prison time and again, and it was in prison that he laid down his life like a true martyr.

Ibn Taymīyyah did not carry out *jihād* with the pen alone: he also fought with the sword. History will remember how he worked day and night, persuading Muslim armies and commanders to fight against the Mongols, and how he himself fought alongside them with faith and courage until God turned the tide against the Mongols. This side of his work, and the campaigns that he led against popular forms of *shirk* and against the enemies of Islam within the community itself, we have not mentioned, but they are also worthy of study.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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[1] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, malāḥim:1.

[2] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 'ilm:10; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 'ilm:1; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah:17; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, v:196.

[3] Salāḥ ad-Dīn Al-Munajjid, *Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyyah, Sīratuhu wa Akhbāruhu 'ind al-Mawrikhīn,* Beirut, Dār Al-Kutub Al-Jadīdah, 1976, p. 19.

[4] For these details see Majīd Fakhrī, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1970, pp. 313ff.

[5] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah:6; anbiyā':54; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah, 23; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* manāqib:17; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 6:55.

[6] For discussion of these points see Dr. 'Alī Sāmī Nashshār, *Manhāj al-Baḥth 'ind Mufakkirī al-Islām,* Beirut, Dār An-Nahḍah, 1984, pp. 187-279.

[7] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Al-Furqān bayn al-Ḥaqq wa al-Bāṭil,* 1:74.

[8] See my *Ṣūfism and Sharī'ah,* Islamic Foundation, Leicester, U.K. 1986, pp. 31-33.

[9] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Kitāb an-Nubūwwāt,* Riyadh, n.d., p. 39.

[10] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Minhāj as-Sunnah,* Cairo, Bulāq, 1321, 1:96.

[11] Miskawayh, *Al-Fawz al-Asghar,* Cairo, Maṭba'at as- Sa'ādah, pp. 12-16. For Ibn Sīnā's remark see 'Abdur-Raḥmān Badawī, *Arasṭū 'ind al-'Arab,* Cairo, An-Nahḍah, 1947, p. 23.

[12] Ibn Rushd, *Al-Kashf 'an Manāhij al-Adillah,* Muḥammad Qāsim, ed., Cairo, Maktabat Al-Anjalo, 1964, p. 15- 154.

[13] Sayd Sharīf Al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif,* 1325 A.H., 8:379.

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[14] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Minhāj as-Sunnah,* op. cit., 1:39.

[15] Ibn Rushd, *Al-Kashf 'an Manāhij al-Adillah,* op. cit. p. 232.

[16] Al-Fārābī. *Arā' Ahl al-Madīnah al-Fāḍilah,* Cairo, Maktabat Al-Husayn At-Tijārīyyah, 1948, p. 121.

[17] Al-Fārābī, *As-Siyāsāt al-Madanīyyah,* Hyderabad, 1994, p. 53; See also, M. 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Anṣārī, *The Moral Philosophy of Al-Farabi,* Aligarh, 1965, pp. 53-54.

[18] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Ar-Radd 'alā al-Mantiqiyyīn,* Bombay, 1949, p. 458.

[19] Ibn Sīnā, *An-Najāt,* Cairo, Al-Kurdī, 1938, p. 291; Fī Aqsām al-'Ulūm al-'Aqlīyyah, included in *Tisa' Rasā'il fī al-Ḥikmah wa Aṭ-Ṭabī'īyyāt,* Hyderabad, 1908, pp. 114-15.

[20] Ibn Sīnā, *Ar-Risālah al-'Uḍwīyyah fī Amr al-Ma'ād,* ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo, 1949, p. 57.

[21] See note 20.

[22] Al Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz, 80: tafsīr, 30:1, qadr:3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr, 22, 23, 24; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 315, 346.

[23] Sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Maktubāt Imām Rabbānī,* Vol. 1, letter 113; Shah Walī Allah, Hamdāt, ed. Nūr Al-Ḥaqq 'Alawī and Ghulām Muṣṭafā, Hyderabad; Pakistan, 1964, pp. 16-17. See also my *Ṣūfism and Sharī'ah,* pp. 64, 66-67.

[24] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Majmū' Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām,* Riyadh, vol. X, p. 498.

[25] Ibn Taymīyyah, *Ḥaqīqat Madhhab al-Ittiḥādiyyīn,* included in *Rasā'il wal-Masā'il,* ed Rāshid Riḍā, Cairo, Vol. 4, pp. 6-17.

[26] See Ibn Khaldūn, *muqaddamat,* Dār Baḥth, Makkah, 4th. ed. 1978, p. 194f.

# PART I

# EPISTEMOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

# 1. Human Nature (*Fiṭrah*), Reason and Revelation

## (1.1) The essential nature (*fiṭrah*) of man

Every human being is born in the nature of Islam. If this nature is not subsequently corrupted by the erroneous beliefs of the family and society, everyone will be able to see the truth of Islam and embrace it.

The Prophet (pbuh) said, "All human beings are born with *fiṭrah*, the nature (of Islam). It is their parents who make them Jew, Christian or Zoroastrian."[1]

What he meant is that there is a certain nature with which God created man, and that is the nature of Islam. God endowed mankind with this essential nature the day He addressed them saying, "Am I not your Lord?" and they said, "Yes, You are" (7:172). *Fiṭrah* is the original nature of man, uncorrupted by subsequent beliefs and practices, ready to accept the true ideas of Islam. Islam is nothing but submitting to Allah, and to none else; this is the meaning of the words, "There is no god except Allah."

Elucidating this concept, the Prophet (pbuh) said, "Man is born with a perfectly sound nature (*fiṭrah*), just as a baby animal is born to its parents, fully formed without any defect to its ears, eyes or any other organ."[2] He thus emphasized that a sound heart is like a sound body, and a defect is something alien which intervenes. Muslim, the famous compiler of *ḥadīth*, has recorded in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* from 'Iyād Ibn Ḥimār that the Prophet (pbuh) once quoted God's words: "I created my people faithful to none but Me; afterwards the devils came upon them and misled them. They forbade them what I had permitted, and commanded them to associate with Me ones I had never authorized."[3]

The *fiṭrah* is to the truth as the light of the eye is to the sun. Everyone who has eyes can see the sun if there are no veils over them. The erroneous beliefs of Judaism, Christianity and

Zoroastrianism act like veils, preventing people from seeing the truth. It is common experience that people whose natural sense of taste is not spoiled love sweets; they never dislike them unless something spoils the sense of taste.

However, the fact that people are born with *fiṭrah* does not mean that a human body is actually born with Islamic beliefs. To be sure, when we come out of the wombs of our mothers, we know nothing. We are only born with an uncorrupted heart which is able to see the truth of Islam and submit to it. If nothing happens which corrupts the heart we would eventually become Muslims. This power to know and to act which develops into Islam when there is nothing to obstruct it or affect its natural working is the *fiṭrah* on which God has created man.
[*Fatāwā* 4:245-7]

### (1.2) Prophets address the *Fiṭrah*

*Prophets address the* fiṭrah *of man and appeal to it, for knowledge of the Truth is inherent in the* fiṭrah.

No prophet has ever addressed his people and asked that they should first of all know the Creator, that they should look into various arguments and infer from them His existence, for every heart knows god and recognizes His existence. Everyone is born with the *fiṭrah*; only something happens afterwards which casts a veil over it. Hence, when one is reminded, one recalls what was there in one's original nature (*fiṭrah*).

That is why God sent Moses (and Aaron) to Pharaoh. He said, "Speak (to him) in soft words; he might recall" (20:44); [that is, he might recall] the knowledge inherent in his original nature regarding his Lord and His blessings on him, and that he depends upon Him completely. This may lead him to faith in his Lord, or cause him "to fear" (20:44) punishment in the Hereafter in case he denies Him. This, too, may lead to faith. That is why God has said, "Call to the path of your Lord with wisdom (*ḥikmah*) and polite admonition (*maw'izah*)" (16:725). *Ḥikmah* is to explain the truth so that one who wants to accept it rather than reject it may accept. But if he rejects it because of his evil desires he should be admonished and warned.

Knowledge of the truth leads to its acceptance, because the love the truth is endowed in human nature. Truth is dearer and more acceptable to the *fiṭrah* of man than untruth, which has no basis on which to stand and is abhorred by the *fiṭrah*. However, if truth and knowledge do not lead a person to faith, he should be warned against his refusal and threatened with punishment. People do fear punishment and try to avoid what may cause them pain, even though they may not move to secure what is good and useful.

Some people only indulge in base desires and belie the punishment they are threatened with, or try to forget it so that they may do what they want without feeling any prick in their hearts, for if they recognized the punishment and remembered it, they would not indulge their evil desires. One is either ignorant or forgetful before one commits evil. That is why all sinners against God are ignorant.
[*Fatāwā* 16:338-9]

## (1.3) Reason is necessary but not sufficient

*Reason is prerequisite to the acquisition of knowledge, as well as for the performance of a good deed or righteous act. Mystical states like ecstasy or intoxication, which involve the suppression of reason, are imperfect states of mind, and ideas that conflict with reason are false. However, reason is not self-sufficient; it cannot dispense with revelation, which alone gives the knowledge of realities that transcend it.*

Many theologians base their ideas simply on reason, and rely exclusively on it. They subject it to the faith and the Qur'ān.

Knowledge is derived from general principles of reason sufficient in themselves without a recourse to faith on the Qur'ān.

Most Ṣūfīs, on the other hand, condemn reason and find fault with it. They assert that sublime states and higher spiritual stages are never attained without negating reason. They expound ideas which contradict reason and lead to rapture, ecstasy and intoxication. They believe in truths and experiences which, as they claim, accrue only when reason is completely suppressed; they also believe in things that are clearly denied by reason or are not attested to by it.

Both these sources are wrong. To be sure, reason is prerequisite to all knowledge, as it is the prerequisite of virtue and good life. With it we acquire knowledge and virtue, but it is not sufficient by itself. It is only a faculty of the soul, a power like the power of vision in the eye. It works only when it receives light from faith and the Qur'ān, as the eye sees only when it receives light from the sun or a fire.

Left to itself, reason cannot know things which it is not equipped to know by itself. On the other hand, when it is completely suppressed, the ideas that one receives and the acts that one performs may be things such as happen to the animals. One may have love and ecstasy and other experiences, but they will not be different from what the animals get. Hence the states that one attains to by negating reason are defective, and the ideas one receives contrary to reason are false.

Prophets came with knowledge which reason could not attain in and of itself; never did they come with what reason considers to be impossible. People who place unjustified faith in reason readily make statements regarding the necessity, possibility or impossibility of things purely on the basis of reason; they work all the while under the impression that their views are correct, whereas they are false; they are even audacious enough to oppose the views which the prophets taught. On the other hand, those who decry reason and affirm things that are false, revel in satanic states and evil practices, and cross the boundaries which the sense of discrimination (between good and evil) draws, with which God has endowed man and elevated him above other creatures.

Among the people of *ḥadīth* (*ahl al-ḥadīth*)[4] there are also some who lean towards one or the other of these two groups. They sometimes bring down reason from its position, and sometimes put it against the prophetic practices (*sunan*).
[*Fatāwā* 3:338-9]

### (1.4) Knowledge of good and evil

*Acts are of three kinds. One is those which are good or bad even before the shar' comes with its verdict regarding them; their goodness or badness is known through reason (as well as the shar'). This, however, does not imply that one who commits evil will be punished in 'alā, although the shar' had not declared its verdict. The second kind is those that acquire the property of goodness or badness on account of the command of the Law-Giver (Ash-Shari') regarding them, and thus become good or bad. The third kind is those which the Law-Giver commands only in order to see if one will obey Him or not. In such cases what matters is the command, not what is commanded.*

On the question of whether good or evil are known through reason, there are different views among the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah,[5] the followers of the four schools of jurisprudence, as well as others. The Ḥanafīs and many of the Mālikis, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs believe in their rationality. This is also the view of the Karrāmīs[6] and the Mu'tazilah,[7] as well as that of many sects among Muslims, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and other religions. On the other hand, many followers of Ash-Shāfi'ī, Mālik and Ibn Ḥanbal oppose that position; this is the view of the Ash'arīs.[8]

However, the Ahl as-Sunnah do not differ with respect to the issue of *qadr*.[9] They believe that God has power over everything, that He is the Creator of human acts as well as all other things, and that what He wills happens and what He does not will does not happen. The Mu'tazilah and others who uphold the autonomy of human will (Qadarīyyah)[10] hold the opposite view; they deny *qadr* and are guilty of unjustified innovation (*bid'ah*). Some people think that those who believe in the rationality of good and evil deny *qadr*; they bracket them with the Mu'tazilah on the issue of divine justice (*ta'dīl wa tajwīr*).[11] This is not correct. The majority of Muslims do not side with the Mu'tazilah in this regard, nor do they agree with the Ash'arīs in their denial of purpose in divine actions, or in their negation of causes in the nature. On the contrary, all these groups believe in *qadr* and affirm that God is the Creator of everything, including human acts, and that what He wills happens, and what He does not will does not happen.

However, it is only the extremists among the Mu'tazilah who deny God's fore-knowledge of things or His fore-ordaining of human actions. All others believe that God knows in advance what men will do, and testify to the prophetic sayings on the issue that God has determined everything before their creation. They believe, for example, in the *ḥadīth* which Muslim has recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, "God ordained everything pertaining to creation fifty thousand years before He created the heavens and the earth, when His throne was on the waters."[12]

Both Al-Bukhārī and Muslim have also recorded the *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn Mas'ūd: The Prophet said - and he has said nothing but truth - "Your formation in the womb of your mothers goes on in stages: The first stage of semen extends to forty days, the second stage of blood-clot extends also to the same duration; then the angel is called and given orders regarding four things. He is asked to write the provision of the person, the duration of his or her life, his or her actions, and whether he or she shall be happy or unhappy. Then the soul is breathed into him or her. By God, Who has power over all life, you may go on doing good deeds, as the people of Paradise should do, till Paradise is at your arm's length.

Then God's writ overtakes you and you do the deeds of the people of Hell, and eventually enter into Hell. On the other hand, you may go on doing the deeds of the people of Hell till Hell is at your arm's length. At that time the writ of God overtakes you, and you do the deeds of the people of Paradise and finally enter it."[13] There are other *aḥādīth* also on the subject. Most of the Qadarīyyah accept them; only the extremists among them deny them.

The majority of Muslims also affirm the existence of causes which God has ordained as causes in the process of creation He carries on and off reasons regarding the commands He issues. They affirm the wise purpose which He pursues in His creation as well as in His enactments. They testify to all the statements that God has made to this effect in the Qur'ān, such as: "(There are signs) in the rain which God sends down from the skies, and in the life which He gives therewith" (2:164); or "He causes rain to descend on (the dead land) and produce every kind of harvest therewith" (7:57). The Qur'ān and the Sunnah abound with such statements. Muslims in general also make statements such as "X has done this by means of Y," rather than "X has done this at the time of Y."

The point I am making is that the issue of knowledge of good and evil is not tied to the issue of *qadr*. Now that this has been clarified, let me state that there are three different views regarding knowledge of good and evil, two on the extremes and one in the middle. The first view is that good and evil are rational, that they are the essential properties of acts, and that the *shar'* only reveals those properties rather than generating them. This is the view which the Mu'tazilah hold and which is not sound. If one extends this ethical doctrine to theology and claims that what is good for man is also good for God and what is evil for man is also evil for God, one would arrive at the false notion of the Qadarīyyah, including that regarding divine justice. These people are guilty of anthropomorphism; they liken divine acts to human acts and human acts to divine acts. This is as wrong as likening divine attributes to human attributes or human attributes to divine attributes.

God's acts cannot be judged on the pattern of human acts, for people are servants while He is their Lord. They wrong each other and commit shameful acts, and He has power to stop them, but He does not do so. This is not something evil for Him, for He may have some higher purpose behind it or may have some good to bestow on His people. This is what the Elders, the *fuqahā'* and Muslims in general believe; they all affirm that creation, as well as the legislative activity of God, is purposive.

Those who say that God's creative act has no purpose or that His command pursues no need affirm a will that chooses one thing against the other without any reason. Ibn Kullāb[14] and his followers subscribe to this view, which was propounded originally by the Qadarīyyah and the Jahmīyyah.[15]

The second view on the issue is that acts of God have neither the qualities of goodness nor of evil, nor the properties on account of which they are characterized as good or evil. God simply wills one thing against another just because He wills it, rather than for any reason or purpose which He may pursue by creation or command. The expanders of this view are not even shy to say that God could command one to associate partners with Him, or find fault with serving Him alone, or order unjust and shameful acts, or forbid virtue and piety. For them, all ethical judgments are relative; good is not something good in itself, nor is evil something evil in itself. When God says, "He [the Prophet] commands them what is just *(ma'rūf) and forbids them what is evil (munkar*), He is permitting what is good and prohibiting what is evil (and impure)" (7:157). This would mean, according to their view, that He commands what He commands, forbids what He forbids, permits what He permits and prohibits what He prohibits. In fact, the objects commanded or forbidden, permitted or prohibited are neither good nor evil nor right or wrong in themselves, except when they are taken to mean what suits people. It also follows that

God neither loves any good not hates any evil.

This view and its implications are unacceptable, for they are opposed to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, and to the concensus of the Elders and the jurists. They are also opposed to common sense. They have nothing to do with God, for exalted is He above them. He has Himself said, "No, God never commands what is shameful" (7:28). He has also dissociated Himself from putting good on the same level as evil when He has said, "What! Do those who seek after evil ways think that We shall hold them equal with those who believe and do righteous deeds, that equal will be their life and death? Ill is the judgment that they render" (45:21); or, "Shall We then treat the people of faith like the people of sin?" (68:35); or, "Shall We treat those who believe and work deeds of righteousness the same as those who do mischief on earth? Shall We treat those who guard against evil the same as those who turn aside from the right? (38:28). But according to the view of these people who deny (objectivity to ethical judgments) it is all the same if you equate the righteous with the wicked or elevate them over the latter. To dissociate God from the former is no better than to associate Him with the latter. This certainly violates the Scripture as well as reason.

God has said, "God knows best whom to charge with His mission" (6:124). But for these people charging someone with a mission does not require any qualities on his part before or after his commission, just as obligating people with some act does not presume any properties in the act. Jurists as well as the common folk of the Muslim community say, on the contrary, that God prohibits the *wrong*, which is thereby prohibited, and commands the *right*, which becomes thereby a duty. We have two things here: one, the act of obligation or prohibition, which the word of God makes; and, two, the obligatory or forbidden character of an act, which is a property of the act. God is knowing and wise. He knows the good that His command entails. It is on the basis of His knowledge of the good or the evil of the people involved in the command or the prohibition, or the etchings commanded or prohibited, that He commands or prohibits. To be sure, it is He Who makes an act obligatory or forbidden, but as for the property of the act, it may be present before or without the command.

If you look at the words of the *shar'* and the ends which its rules pursue, you will find three kinds of acts. The first are those which involve some kind of good or evil even before the *shar'* commanded them. We know, for example, that justice leads to the well-being of people, and injustice involves their suffering. Such acts are therefore good or evil (in themselves); their goodness or evil is known even through reason, as well as through the *shar'*, but not in the sense that the *shar'* invests them with a property which they did not have before. However, in affirming an independent property of evil in some act it by no means follows that their doers will be punished in the Hereafter, even if the *shar'* had not come with its verdict.

This is a point on which the extremists among those who believe in the rationality of good and evil have gone wrong. They say that people will be punished for their evil deeds even if no messenger had been sent to them. They go against the statements of the Qur'ān, such as, "We would not punish until We had sent a messenger (to give warning)" (17:15); or "Messengers who gave good news as well as warning that mankind after (the coming) of the messengers should have no plea against God" (14:165); or "Your Lord was not one to destroy a population until He had sent to its center a messenger, rehearsing to them our verses, nor are we going to destroy a population except when its members practice iniquity" (28:59); or "Every time a group is cast therein, it keepers will ask, 'Did no warner come to you?' They will say, 'Yes, indeed, a Warner did come to us, but we rejected him and said, "God never sent down any (messenger);" you are in nothing but an egregious delusion.' They will further say, 'Had we but listened or used our intelligence we should (now) be among the companions of the blazing fire'" (68:8-10). Both Al-Bukhārī and Muslim have recorded that the Prophet (pbuh) said, "No one is more generous in accepting an excuse than Allah. This is why He sends messengers to people who give good tidings and warnings."[16] There are many more texts on the subject that fully underscore the point that God does not punish people unless He had sent His Message to them. These texts refute the claim of the rationalists that people are punished even if no messenger is sent to them.

The second kind of acts are those which *become* good when the *shar'* commands them, or *become* evil when it forbids them. They acquire the property of goodness or evil by virtue of the command of the *shar'*.

The third kind of acts are those which the Law-Giver (Ash-Shāri') commands just to see whether people carry out His commands or not; the performance of the act as such is not what is desired. For example, Abraham was told to slaughter his son. When he and his son submitted to the command and Abraham laid his son on the ground, the objective was achieved. Abraham was thereafter given a lamb to sacrifice in place of his son. Another example is the *ḥadīth* that tells of a leper, a bald man and a blind man. When God sent them an angel to beg for charity and only the blind man responded to his request, the angel said, "Keep your money with you. God only intended to test you people. He is pleased with you, and is angry with the two others."[17] This illustrates that the intention of a particular command may be the command itself and not the thing commanded.

The Mu'tazilah, did not understand this kind of act or the one mentioned before it. They were wrong in thinking that there are no good or evil acts other than those which are independent of the decree of the *shar'*. The Ash'arīs, on the other hand, believed that all the commands of the Sharī'ah are of the third kind, just for trial, and that they have no property whatsoever before or even after the word of the *shar'*. Men of knowledge and wisdom (*ḥukamā')*[18] and Muslims in general recognize these three types of acts. And this is the correct view.

[*Fatāwā* 8:428-436]

## (1.5) Knowledge of God and His unity.

*People have various views as to how we know God and His unity and what the basis for obligation is in this regard. The best view on this subject is that acts have properties which make them good and obligatory or evil and forbidden. This fact is often known by reason, but God does not punish anyone except after His message has reached him.*

Opinions have differed regarding the means of knowing God and His unity and other basic principles of religion. Is it the *shar'* which gives us knowledge about them, and defines our obligations or is it the case that we know them through our reason, while it is the *shar'* which makes them obligatory? Or is it the case that reason is both means of their knowledge and the instrument of their obligation? These are three known views on the subject, and each one is held by various sections among the followers of the founders of the four schools of *fiqh*, Aḥmad and others.

One group is of the view that the source of knowledge as well as the basis of obligation is nothing but the *shar'*. The Salīmīyyah[19] and others such as Shaykh Abū Al-Farāj Al-Maqdīsī[20] belong to this group. The followers of Aḥmad and others from the Ahl as-Sunnah have also been reported to hold this view. It is also held by Ibn Dirbās,[21] Ibn Shukr[22] and many other followers of Ash-Shāfi'ī. From the scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, those who condemn *kalām* generally subscribe to it. This is the issue on which a controversy had flared up between the companions of the theologian Ṣadaqah Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Al-Ḥanbalī[23] and a faction of Aḥmad's followers, as well as between Abū Al-Farāj Ibn Al-Jawzī[24] and another faction of the Ḥanbalīs. The former parties contended that the *shar'* is both source of knowledge and the basis of obligation, whereas the latter group said that the source of knowledge is reason but the basis of obligation is the *shar'*. Al-Āmidī[25] has mentioned three views regarding the source of knowledge. One, it is reason alone, independent of Revelation (*as-sam'*), as Ar-Rāzī[26] has said; second, it is revelation, that is to say, the Qur'ān and the Sunnah; and third, both of them are sources of ethical knowledge. And it is the last one which Al-Āmidī has preferred, and it is the correct view.

The second view is that the instrument of obligation is the *shar'* alone, even though reason is also a source of knowledge. This is the view of Al-Ash'arī[27] and his followers, as well as Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā,[28] Ibn Az-Zaghunī,[29] Ibn 'Āqil,[30] and others. The third view is that the source of knowledge as well as the instrument of obligation is reason. This is the view of the Mu'tazilah, the Karrāmīyyah and many others from the followers of *a'immah*, such as Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Āmidī, Abū Al-Aṭṭāb[31] and others. Sections of Māliki, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī scholars also hold this view; even Abū Ḥanīfah[32] is reported to have subscribed to it. It has been noted that the Mu'tazilah, Abū Bakr Ar-Rāzī,[32a] and Abū Al-Khaṭṭāb have clearly stated that even those who have not received the words of any prophet will be punished on account of their violation of the dictates of reason.

We have mentioned that the most reasonable view on the subject is that acts possess properties which make them good and obligatory, or evil and forbidden, and that is often known by reason. But God does not punish people except after they have received His message, as He has said, "We do not punish people unless we have sent to them a messenger" (17:15). This is a general proclamation from God, and He has not differentiated between one kind of act and the other.

[*Kitāb An-Nubūwwāt* 162-3]

## (1.6) The place of *waḥī*

*Things of the world which are the objects, for example, of medicine, mathematics and commerce are known through reason. But divine things and religious truths are only known from the Prophet. He knows them best and is most competent to expound them. At times he also advances rational arguments for them. We are to take all that he says quite serious, his statements as well as his arguments, and build upon them.*

Knowledge is what is demonstrable, and of that what is useful has been conveyed by the prophets. However, there is a part of knowledge which we get from other sources. This concerns the matters of the world, such as the objects of medicine, mathematics, agriculture and commerce. But so far as divine things and religious truths are concerned, the only source of their knowledge is the Prophet. He knows them best, is most eager to preach them to the masses and most competent to formulate and expound them. He is above everyone in knowledge, will and competence - things which are required to accomplish his mission perfectly. Everyone else is deficient in knowledge, has a distorted idea of things, or lacks the urge to preach what he knows either because he is seeking something else, entertains some fears or does not have sufficient power to expound his ideas clearly and forcefully to the conviction of the people.

Sometimes the Prophet advances rational arguments in support of the truths he preaches. The Qur'ān is full of rational arguments and clear proofs regarding divine realities and religious truths. Sometimes the Prophet only states them, for he has already offered clear and convincing proofs to establish the fact that he is a prophet of God bearing a message from Him, that he is telling nothing about God except the truth, and that God has Himself borne witness for him and told people that he is honest and reliable in delivering His message to them. In fact, there are many arguments to establish that he is the Messenger of God; some of them are rational and verifiable by reason, others are religious and revealed, but the Prophet explained them to people and demonstrated them. Theologians of different affiliations are agreed that the Qur'ān offers rational arguments on religious matters. They often mention them in their theological and exegetical works. They also make use of religious and revealed arguments in various matters; since they have established the veraciousness of the Prophet, he must be believed, they say, in whatever he states.

Knowledge is of three kinds. One is not known except through rational arguments. Concerning this category, the best arguments are those which the Qur'ān has stated and the Prophet has mentioned. Let it be known that the best and the most perfect rational arguments are the ones which are received from the Prophet. I emphasize this fact because many people do not know it. Some people reject outright all rational arguments, since they believe that they have been manufactured by the theologians. Others do not reflect on the Qur'ān, or try to understand the rational and convincing arguments which it offers, because they have somehow developed the idea that the Qur'ān only states truths. They think that one should first ascertain the veracity of a prophet and the authenticity of the words he has said on rational grounds, and then deduce the truth of his statements from the truth of his prophethood.

The other kind of knowledge is that which a non-prophet has no way of knowing except through a prophet; his word alone is the argument for it. This knowledge is concerned with details regarding God, angels, the Throne, Paradise and Hell, as well as details regarding things which the prophet enjoins or forbids. As for as the existence of the Creator and His unity, knowledge, power, will, wisdom, and mercy, these matters can be known through reason. But the arguments and the proofs which the prophet offers in these matters are the most perfect and rational arguments. However, prophetic word is not the only means for knowing them, even though it does offer certain knowledge. These things are, therefore, known by the rational arguments which the prophet offers as well as by his word, since his veracity has been established by arguments, proofs and miracles.

People have also differed concerning knowledge of the life hereafter and knowledge of good and evil. The majority is of the view that they are known through reason as well as revelation (*as-sam'*). However, those who uphold the rationality of the knowledge of good and evil are more than those who uphold the rationality of the knowledge of the Hereafter. Abū Al-Khaṭṭāb noted that this is the view of most of the jurists and theologians. The other view is that we know about the life hereafter and about good and evil from no other means than the word of the Prophet. This is the view of Al-Ash'arī and his followers, as well as many others from the followers of the *a'immah*, such as Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā, Abū Al-Ma'ālī Al-Juwaynī,[33] Abū Al-Walīd Al-Bājī,[34] and so on. However, bothse groups agree that there are things that are known through reason as well as through the word of the Prophet, such as the issue of whether human acts are created by God or not, pr whether we shall see Him in the Hereafter.

What I want to say is that one should take from the Prophet the knowledge of all divine and religious matters, both those that are merely revelational and those that are rational, and base upon it all one's rational arguments, since what he has said is true in principle as well as in detail. Arguments for the veracity of the Prophet establish the truth of his teachings in principle, and the rational arguments that the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth* expound demonstrate that in detail.

Again, prophets and messengers are sent first of all to give this very knowledge; they are, therefore, the most knowledgeable on these matters, the most competent to teach them, and the most honest about them. Those who examine what they say and what the others say in such matters find that the truth is with the prophets and that others are mistaken. This is asserted by Ar-Rāzī,[35] who is extremely critical of arguments from tradition and is known to have made the statement that arguments from tradition fail to produce conviction. No other recognized scholar has come out with such a scathing remark.

But it is he who is reported to have said, "I have long pondered theological and philosophical arguments, and have finally reached the conclusion that they do not generate certainty. In comparison to them, the arguments of the Qur'ān are more convincing. Read, for example, the verse, 'To Him mount up (all) words of purity' (35:10), or the verse, 'The most gracious One is firmly established on the Throne' (20:5), which describe God in positive terms. Read also the verse, 'There is nothing whatsoever like unto Him' (42:11), which describes Him in negative terms." Thereafter, he said, "Whoever goes through the experience I have gone through will reach the same conclusion I have reached."

Similarly, if you consider those who do not follow the prophets nor have faith in their teachings, you will find them skeptical, perplexed and ignorant of the truth, or ignorant as well as conceited. They are like those about whom the Qur'ān has said, "As for the unbelievers, their deeds are like a mirage in sandy deserts, which the man parched with thirst mistakes for water until, when he comes up to it, he finds it to be nothing. He only finds God who will pay Him his account; and God is swift in taking account. Or their state is like the depths of darkness in a vast, deep ocean overwhelmed with billow topped by billow, topped by (dark) clouds: depths of darkness, one above another. If a man stretch out his hand he can hardly see it, for any to whom God gives not light, there is no light at all." (24:39-40).
[*Fatāwā* 13:136-141]

## (1.7) The Correct Way to Interpret the Qur'ān

*The correct way is to explain the Qur'ān through the Qur'ān itself, then through the Sunnah of the Prophet, then with the help of* *the comments of the Companions, and then the comments of the rightful Successors. Never should one go against an interpretation on which they all agree. To explain the Qur'ān simply on the basis of one's reason, without knowing all these things, is forbidden.*

The best way is to explain the Qur'ān is through the Qur'ān. What the Qur'ān alludes to in one place is explained in another, and what it says in brief on one occasion is elaborated upon on another. But if this does not help you, you should turn to the Sunnah, because the Sunnah explains and elucidates the Qur'ān. Imām 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Ash-Shāfi'ī[36] said, "All that the Prophet has said is what he has derived from the Qur'ān." God has said, "We have sent down to you the Book in truth that you may judge between men, as God guides you; so do not be an advocate for those who betray their trust" (4:105); and, "We have sent down to you the message that you may explain clearly to people what has been sent to them, and that they may think over it." (16:44). Again: "We sent down the Book to you for the express purpose that you make clear to them those things in which they differ, and that it should be a guide and mercy to those who believe" (16:64). This is why the Prophet (pbuh) said, "Know that I have been given the Qur'ān and something like it,"[37] namely the Sunnah. In fact, the Sunnah, too, was given to him through *waḥī* like the Qur'ān, except that it was not recited to him as the Qur'ān was. Imām Ash-Shāfi'ī and other scholars have advanced a number of arguments in support of this point, but we cannot produce them here.

In order to understand the Qur'ān, you must first look to the Qur'ān itself, If that does not help, then turn to the Sunnah. The Prophet (pbuh) sent Mu'ādh to Yemen and asked him, "How will you judge the cases (that come to you)?" He replied, "I will judge according to the Book of God." "But if you do not get anything there, what will you do?" the Prophet asked. He said, "I will refer to the Sunnah of the Prophet." "But if you do not find it even there, what will you do?" the Prophet (pbuh) asked again. He replied, "I will exercise my judgment." Hearing this the Prophet (pbuh) patted Mu'ādh on the shoulder and said, "Praise be to God, Who has guided the messenger of His Messenger to what pleases His Messenger."[38] This *ḥadīth* has been reported in the *Musnad* and *Sunan* collections of *ḥadīth* with a good *isnad.*

When you do not get any help from the Qur'ān or the Sunnah, turn to the words of the Companions, for they know the Qur'ān better. They witnessed its revelation and passed through the circumstances in which it was revealed, and knew it and understood it fully. This is particularly true of their scholars and leaders, such as the four righteous caliphs and 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd.[39] It has been reported that 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd said, "By the One besides Whom there is no god, there is no verse in the Qur'ān about which I do not know in what case and at what place was it revealed. If I were aware that anyone knew the Qur'ān more than I, and I could reach him, I would certainly have gone to see him."[40]

Another great scholar and savant was 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbās,[41] the nephew of the Prophet (pbuh) and commentator of the Qur'ān. He attained that status by virtue of the Prophet's prayer, "O God! Give me knowledge of Islam and teach him the meaning of the Qur'ān."[42] 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd said, "What a good interpreter of the Qur'ān Ibn 'Abbās is!"

When one does not find the *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān from the Qur'ān or the Sunnah or the words of the Companions, many scholars (*a'immah*) turn to the words of the Successors, such as Mujāhid Ibn Jubayr,[43] because he was excellent in *tafsīr.* Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq reported from Abban Ibn Ṣāliḥ that Mujāhid said, "I read the Qur'ān with Ibn 'Abbās three times from the beginning to the end, pausing at every verse and questioning him about it." That is why Sufyān Ath-Thawrī[44] said, "If you get the *tafsīr* of Mujāhid that is sufficient."

Besides Mujāhid, you can refer to Sa'īd Ibn Jubayr,[45] Ikramah,[46] the client (*mawlā*) of Ibn 'Abbās, 'Atā' Ibn Abī Ribah,[47] Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī,[48] Masrūq Ibn Al-Ajdā',[49] Sa'īd Ibn Al-Musayyib,[50] Abū Al-'Alīyah,[51] Ar-Rubay' Ibn Anas,[52] Qatādah,[53] Aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Muzāḥim,[54] and other Successors, or their followers, and even those who came after them.

Shu'bah[55] and others have said, "The words of the Successors (*At-Tābi'ūn*) wield no authority in matters of practical rules (*furū'*), so how can they have authority in *tafsīr?* What he meant is that the words of one Successor have no authority over another Successor who differs from him, and this is true. But when they agree on something, it undoubtedly wields authority. However, if they differ, the view of one will have no authority over others among them, nor over those who came after them. In such cases, one should turn to the language of the Qur'ān or Sunnah, or the Arabic literature in general, or the words of the Companions on that matter.

*Tafsīr* of the Qur'ān based merely on reason is forbidden (*ḥarām*). The Prophet (pbuh) said, "Whoever talks about the Qur'ān without proper knowledge makes space for himself in Hell."[56] He also said, "Whoever talks about the Qur'ān merely on the basis of his reason is a sinner, even if what he says is correct."[57] At-Tirmidhī, who reported this *ḥadīth*, said it is rare (*gharīb*). However, a number of scholars from the Companions and others have been reported to have condemned in the same vein the effort to explain the Qur'ān without knowledge.

If Mujāhid, Qatādah and other scholars like them have explained the Qur'ān, we expect that they would not have said anything about the Qur'ān or commented on its verses without proper knowledge, speaking simply on the basis of their reason. This is supported by various reports about them which say that they never said anything without knowledge and only from their minds. Hence, if one talks about the Qur'ān on the basis of his reason, he is talking about what he does not know, and is violating the rule he has been asked to follow. Consequently, even if what he says is correct, he sins, because he has not followed the command.

However, those who made *tafsīr* because they knew the verses, their language as well as their legal and religious implications, had nothing to worry about. That is why their comments on the Qur'ān have come down to us. And this does not conflict with the attitude we have described above. They discussed things they knew, and abstained from discussing what they did not know. This is true of everyone: one must not speak about what one does not know. On the other hand, one must speak on what one knows when one is asked about it, for, that, too, is a duty, as God has said, "You must clearly explain it (i.e. the Qur'ān) to the people and never hide it" (3:187). The Prophet (pbuh) has also said, in a *ḥadīth* reported through various channels, "Whoever hides what he knows when asked about it will have a bridle of fire in his mouth on the Day of Judgment.[58] Ibn Jarīr has reported through Muḥammad Ibn Bashshār, Mu'ammal, Sufyān and Abū Az-Zanād, that Ibn 'Abbās said, "*Tafsīr* is of four kinds: one, what the Arabs can know from the language; second, what no one can be excused for not knowing; third, what only scholars know; and fourth, what God alone knows."[59]
[*Fatāwā* 13:363-375]

## (1.8) The *Muḥkam* and the *Mutashābih* in the Qur'ān

*Muḥkam in the Qur'ān may mean either what has come down from God and has not been mixed with anything extraneous, or the imperative of which has not been abrogated or qualified, or what is not vague or ambiguous. Mutashābih is the opposite of muḥkam in all these senses. However, it does not mean that we cannot understand or interpret the verses which are mutashābih in the third sense, only that part of their meaning is beyond our comprehension, and God has kept some knowledge to himself.*

*Iḥkām* in the Qur'ān is sometimes used in opposition to promptings of Satan. *Muḥkam* according to this usage is that which God has revealed and established by differentiating it from anything with which it may have been confused, or separating it from anything that may have been added to it, for *iḥkām* is to separate, distinguish, differentiate and define something, so that it is clearly determined and identified. *Iḥkām* involves negation as well as affirmation; the former is only a part not the whole of its meaning. *Iḥkām* may sometimes mean to reaffirm a verse in opposition to the claim of its abrogation in the technical sense of revoking an imperative, whether by rescinding the order or qualifying it.

*Iḥkām* is also used in the context of explication and interruption where it means to determine the real import of the verse by distinguishing it from other meanings which it might be thought to convey. Its opposite, *mutashābih*, would then mean ambiguous. A verse is *mutashābih* if it may mean more than one thing and may be taken to mean any one of them. Ibn Ḥanbāl has said that *muḥkam* is that which does not admit of difference, and *mutashābih* is that which means one thing here and another thing there. Let us note that he has not said that *mutashābih* is that whose meaning and exegesis (*tafsīr wa al-ma'nā*) is not known to anyone except God, for God has only denied that anyone other than He can know the *ta'wīl* except God" (3:7). Aḥmad is perfectly correct, for God has only denied *ta'wīl* on the part of anyone except Him In reading the verse, the stop is at the end of the word God, as is supported by many arguments; and this is the view of the Companions of the Prophet (pbuh), the majority of their Successors, and the majority of the *ummah*.

It should be noted that God has not denied the understanding and explication of *mutashābih* verses on our part. On the contrary, He has said, "(Here is) a Book which We have sent down full of

blessings, that they may ponder its verses (38:29)," and the Book contains *muḥkam* as well as *mutashābih* verses. Obviously, if we cannot understand the verses of the Book, we cannot contemplate them. God has also said, "Do they not ponder the Qur'ān?" (4:82). This is a general exhortation regarding the entire Book, from which no verse has been excepted. What God and His Prophet (pbuh) condemn is that one should pursue a *mutashābih* verse with a view to create mischief or to find out its *ta'wīl*, or ultimate meaning. They have never condemned those who contemplate its *muḥkam* or *mutashābih* verses and try to understand them and find out what they mean to the extent God wants us to understand them. On the contrary, He has positively commanded this exercise and praised those who engage in it.
[*Fatāwā* 13:274-275]

## (1.9) The Meaning of *Ta'wīl*

Ta'wīl *in the parlance of the Elders (*Salaf*) means two things: one, to explicate a passage and determine its meaning, whether such meaning agrees with the stated words of the passage or goes against them; second, is to realize what the words say. If they command something, their ta'wīl is to perform the act which they command; but if they tell of something, their ta'wīl is the happening of the thing told. However, in the language of later writers ta'wīl is to depart from the more apparent meaning of the words and adopt a less apparent meaning for some reason associated with them.*

*Ta'wīl* in the parlance of the later writers, jurists, theologians, traditionists, Ṣūfīs, and others is to leave the more apparent meaning on the basis of some reason associated with that passage. This is the *ta'wīl* which is referred to in works on the principles of jurisprudence or on legal controversies. When someone says that this *ḥadīth* or that text is subject to *ta'wīl*, or should be interpreted to mean this and not that, others may charge him with doing *ta'wīl* and ask him to state his reasons for doing it. The one who is doing *ta'wīl* has to satisfy two conditions: first, he has to show that the words may also mean what he is suggesting, and second, he must state a reason for having to depart from the more apparent meaning in favor of his own meaning. This is also the sense in which *ta'wīl* is used in the discussions on divine attributes.

In the parlance of the Elders, however, *ta'wīl* means two things. One is to explicate (*tafsīr*) a passage and elucidate its meaning, whether or not that meaning agrees with the words of the passage. On this understanding, *ta'wīl* would mean very much the same as *tafsīr*, would be a synonym for it. This is, and God knows better, what Mujāhid implies when he says that the scholars know the *ta'wīl* of this or that verse, or when Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Aṭ-Ṭabarī[60] writes in his commentary, "Opinions regarding the *ta'wīl* of this word (of God) are as follows...," or that "the scholars of *ta'wīl* have different opinions regarding this verse." To be sure, what he means by *ta'wīl* here is the same as *tafsīr*. explication.

The second sense in which the Elders use *ta'wīl*, and which we should count as the third sense of *ta'wīl*, is to refer to the thing itself which is intended by the words. If the words contain a command, *ta'wīl* is carrying out the thing commanded; and if the words contain information, *ta'wīl* is the occurrence of the thing informed.

*Ta'wil* in this third sense is a part of the language of the Qur'ān, for example the words of Jacob to his son, Joseph, "Thus will your Lord choose you and teach you the interpretations (*ta'wīl*) of stories and events (*aḥādīth*), and perfect His favor to you" (12:6); and the words of Joseph to his parents when the members of his larger family entered Egypt and he provided a home for them, "'Enter Egypt (all) in safety if it pleases God.' And he raised his parents high on the throne (of dignity) and they fell down in prostration before him. He said: 'Father, this is the fulfillment (*ta'wīl*) of my vision of old; God has made it come true'" (12:99-100). The *aḥādīth* in Jacob's statement refer to visions in sleep and their *ta'wīl* means the things they point to, as is clear from Joseph's words, "'This is the *ta'wīl;* of my vision of old.'" The one versed in *ta'wīl* is the one who foretells them.

In another place God said, "If you differ on anything among yourselves, refer it to God and His Messenger, if you do believe in God and the Last Day. That is best and most commendable as *ta'wīl*" (4:59); that is, it will lead to the best and most desirable end. Here *ta'wīl* means the end of their actions of referring the matter to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. On the other hand, *ta'wīl* in the verses quoted earlier from the *sūrah* Joseph is the interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of visions. Similarly, *ta'wīl* in the surahs, the Heights, Jonah, and the Family of 'Imrān means the interpretation of the Qur'ān.

To sum up, *ta'wīl* is that to which the words are directed, or to which they refer, or to which they point; and obviously the thing to which the words point, or refer or lead (*mustaqqar*) or which they suggest or are shown to suggest is the reality of the thing itself which is what they mean. This is borne out by the way Elders have explained the word *mustaqqar* in the verse, "Every news has its *mustaqqar*" (6:67), that is, its reality. In case the words convey an information, they will point or refer to the thing informed, but when they do not point or refer to anything, they will be void.

On the other hand, if the words contain an imperative they will lead to and end up with the thing commanded, provided it is not already accomplished. However, if the information is about something promised or warned, it will lead to the thing awaited. This is supported by the *ḥadīth* which says that the Prophet (pbuh) recited the verse, "Tell them: He has all the power to send calamities on you from above and below, or to cover you with confusion in party strife, giving you a taste of mutual vengeance -

each from the other" (6:65), and then said this will happen, as its *ta'wīl*, namely the thing it amounts to, has not happened yet.[60a] Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd is reported to have said, "five things have already passed: the wars, the feuds, the smoke, the (splitting of the) moon, and the (revenge against the) Romans (by the Persians)." [*Fatāwā* 13:288-94]

### (1.10) Verses and Qur'ān regarding divine attributes are to be taken at face value.

*The Elders have taken the verses and* aḥādīth *regarding God's attributes on their* ẓāhir, *or face value, refusing, however, to say anything about their nature (*kayfīyyah*) or to conceive them along human patterns (*tashbīh*). By* ẓāhir, *the apparent meaning, they mean the* ẓāhir *which behooves the Creator, not the created; but will we be justified in saying that the* ẓāhir *which behooves God is really the* ẓāhir *of those verses and* aḥādīth*? Ibn Taym*īyyah *has responded to this question and discussed the meaning of* ẓāhir *at length.*

The person[61] who has made his vow conditional on the belief that the verse, "the Merciful ascended the Throne," is to be understood on its *ẓāhir*, face, as people understand from its words, should know that *ẓāhir* is an ambiguous term. As known to the uncorrupted nature of man (*fiṭrah*) and used in Arabic, the religious literature and the parlance of the Elders, *ẓāhir* means something other than what it means to many later writers. Now if the one who vowed meant by *ẓāhir* something which part of the beings that are contingent or which imply some kind of imperfection on the part of God, such as the idea that God's *istawā*, settling (on the Throne), is like the settling of one body on another, or the settling down of the soul in bodies, if souls are not included in the category of bodies in their view, he would be guilty of violating his own vow and would be mistaken. No scholar, as far as I know, upholds this view except the Baṣrī Dāwūd Al-Jawāribī,[62] Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān Al-Khurāsānī,[63] Hishām Ibn Al-Ḥakam Ar-Rāfiḍī,[64] if it is correctly reported of them.

We must believe that God is unlike anything else in His essence, attributes, as well as acts, that His difference from things created and His transcendence from any participation in them is greater than what the Gnostics from among His people may have imagined or what anybody may have stated. We must negate of Him every attribute which implies contingency or any other imperfection. Whoever claims about any scholar of the Ahl as-Sunnah that he has conceived of the divine attributes according to the attributes of created beings is either lying or mistaken.

But if the one who vowed meant by *ẓāhir* what is known (*ẓāhir*) to human nature before it is overwhelmed by desires and confused by conflicting opinions, it is the *ẓāhir* that behooves God's majesty and transcendence. It is also the *ẓāhir* of all His names and attributes, such as life, knowledge, power, hearing, seeing, speech, will, love, anger and pleasure, as well as the attributes that have been referred to in the verse, "What has prevented you from prostrating to one whom I have created with my hands" (38:75), or in the *ḥadīth*, "Our Lord descends to the lowest heaven every night."[65] The *ẓāhir* of these words, when they are used in our case, is an incident or a body, for our beings belong to the same category. But when they refer to God, their apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) is only that which behooves them and suits His exalted self. Words like essence (*dhāt*), existence (*wujūd*), reality (*ḥaqīqah*), sense, even though we know, to be sure, that the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of these words in the divine context, and that they have nothing in common between them which may imply a defect or contingency on the part of God, whether or not they are taken as unequivocal, equivocal or general in their connotation. The same is true of the statements we have in the Qur'ān, such as, "He has sent it down from His own knowledge" (4:166); "Indeed God is He Who gives (all) sustenance, Lord of Power, Steadfast (forever)" (51:58); "...whom I have created with My hands" (38:75); "The Most Gracious One is firmly established on the Throne" (20:5); and so on. All are in the same category.

Earlier Jahmīs had denied all attributes to God which in our context are incidents, such as knowledge and power, or organs, such as hand and face. The later ones, however, affirmed many attributes which are incidents in our case, such as knowledge and power, and negated others along with those attributes that are organs in our case. Some of them have even gone to the extent of affirming attributes like hand that are bodies in our case.

The Salafīs, on the other hand, such as Al-Khaṭṭābī,[66] Abū Bakr Al-Khaṭīb,[67] and others have stated that the way of the Elders is to take the verses and the *aḥādīth* of the attributes at face value, and to state at the same time that they neither know their nature, nor conceive of them on human patterns. They do not believe that "hands" means power, or that "hearing" means knowing. As a rule, one's position on attributes is a corollary of one's position on the Essence; the former follows the latter completely. And since to affirm the Essence is to affirm something that exists, rather than simply a modality (*kayfīyyah*), the affirmation of attributes should also be the affirmation of an existence rather than only a modality.

Of later writers, those who claim that the Elders did not say that it was the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) which was intended, they should be told, provided they command our respect, that the *ẓāhir* which they did not affirm was the apparent meaning that behooved the created, not the Creator. And undoubtedly this *ẓāhir* is not intended, and anyone who says that it is intended should be declared an infidel (*kāfir*) after the point is fully explained to him.

There are two aspects to the issue here, one linguistic and the other philosophical. As for the latter, there are three views regarding *istawā*. For example, in the verse "The Gracious One is firmly established (*istawā*) on the Throne" (20:5), one is that

God's *istawā* is like the *istawā* of a creature, or something similar, that involves contingency or defect on God's part. This is the view of the *mushabbihah* and the *mujassimah*, the anthropomorphists who conceive of God as a body; and it is absolutely wrong in light of the Qur'ān as well as reason. The second view is that there is no *istawā* in the real sense, nor is there a God on a throne, or a Lord above the heavens. This is the view of another mistaken group, the Jahmīs, who negate the divine attributes. This is absolutely wrong also, since it is diametrically opposed to what everyone aware of the prophetic teachings knows of Islam, as well as to the conviction with regard to the Creator inherent in man's nature in which his Lord has created him. Ibn Qutaybah[68] testifies to this truth when he says that all nations, Arabs and non-Arabs, before Islam and in Islam, believe that God is in the heavens, that is, He is above them.

The third view is that God is established on the Throne in a manner behooving His majesty and glory; He is above the heavens on the Throne, transcending the world, even though He upholds the Throne and the bearers of the Throne. We know what *istawā* is, though we do not know its modality. We must believe in it and consider all questioning about it as *bid'ah*, as has been said by Umm Salamah,[69] Rabī'ah Ibn Abī 'Abdur-Raḥmān,[70] and Mālik Ibn Anas.[71] This is the faith of the Muslims, and this is the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of *istawā* in the eyes of Muslims in general whose original nature has not been corrupted by either to negate divine attributes or to anthropomorphize them....

To support this view we have a number of traditions from the Prophet, his Companions, and numerous scholars of the *ummah*, which have come down to us from generation to generation, and which have been recorded in words great and small. Everyone who is versed in the knowledge of the traditions will agree that not a single word is reported from any one of them that goes against this. All of them are united on this point and have one faith... No one has ever said that the apparent meaning of these words is not intended, or that this verse or that *ḥadīth* should not be taken at face-value... Had this not been the intended (*ẓāhir*) meaning in the eyes of the Muslims, the Prophet (pbuh) and the Elders of the *ummah* would have told the *ummah* that what they understand as the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) is not what is intended.

Know that one leads nowhere and is surely confused who does not go by words, or is not aware that sometimes the meaning of a word or a sentence is determined on the basis of etymology, or its use in common language or in the *shar'*, that sometimes the construction of a sentence changes the original meaning of a word, that the linguistic clues and associations call for metaphorical interpretations, and that sometimes the circumstances of the speaker, the addressee, and the subject of the speech act may also affect the meaning. We will talk later about the reasons which help us call a meaning the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) out of the various possible meanings of a word or words, or to interpret them metaphorically. To be sure, if the words do not carry any clues that indicate what the speaker intends to say, and his intention is only to be known through other words mentioned at other places, then the apparent meaning is not intended. A general statement, for example, is qualified on the ground of some unassociated arguments, even a purely rational consideration; however, writers on the principles of jurisprudence differ on the question of whether one should call it the apparent meaning or not.

Generally, those who deny *istawā* and other attributes of the kind have been found on investigation to have understood *istawā* on a human pattern or in a sense which spells contingency or defect on the part of God. Having conceived of *istawā* in this way, they ascribe it to their opponents and take pains in advancing arguments for its refutation. They finally conclude that it can only be understood in the sense of dominion and control, manifestation and illumination, blessing and favor, or supermacy in status and authority.

This reason that one who claims that the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of *istawā* is the meaning that it has in a human context is wrong in this: Words are of two types. One stands for something simple, as for example, lion, donkey, ocean, dog, etc. When using them we say, "X is the lion of God and the lion of His Prophet," or when we call one who is a fool a donkey, or the "ocean" one who is a great scholar or an eminent philanthropist, or when we refer to a lion as a dog. In such cases we are using metaphors. If there is also a clue there, it will make the intention more clear. Examples are the words of the Prophet about the horse of Abū Talḥah: "We certainly found it 'an ocean,'"[72] or about Khālid Ibn Al-Walīd, "Indeed Khālid is one of the swords of God which He has unsheathed on the polytheists,"[73] or about 'Uthmān, "God will put on you a shirt..."[74] We have a further example in what Ibn 'Abbās said or is reported to have said, "The Black Stone is the right hand of God on earth, and one who touches it pledges in a sense to God."[74a] Here the words have been used in an extended sense, but the intention of the speaker is quite clear. Everyone who hears these words will certainly understand what is meant by them, and his mind will easily get the meaning which is intended and not the one which the words have been coined to convey. That is not merely a possible meaning, but the intended meaning (*nass*), and to interpret the words in this sense is not a sort of *ta'wīl*, which is to take a word in the sense less probable than the one more probable. This is one of the places where people have gone astray. They have erred in thinking that what these words really mean is not their *ẓāhir* meaning and that one cannot dispense with *ta'wīl* in their case.

The second kind of words are those which stand for some relation, pure and simple, like being higher or lower, above or below, etc., or mean something positive that implies a relation, like knowledge and love, capability or incapability, hearing and seeing. Such words mean nothing in isolation; they have a meaning only in relation to the subjects they refer to. This is for two reasons: first, they are never used in isolation; and second, they can be used as common (attribute) or as a metaphor, even their essence can be identified with the element common to their objects.

The word under discussion, name, *istawā,* has not been used by the Arabs specifically for a man's sitting, for example, on a cot, so that in cases other than that it should be taken as a metaphor. Similarly, the word *'ilm* - 'knowledge,' has not been used specifically by them for what exists in the heart of man and which is either necessary or acquired, so that its use in that context may be called literal and in other contexts metaphorical. On the contrary, it has sometimes been used in an intransitive form, such as in the verse, "When he reached full age and was firmly established (*istawā*) (28:14); and sometimes with the preposition, *ilā,* such as in the verse, "then he *istawā ilā,* turned to the heavens and it had been smoke" (41:11); and sometimes with the preposition '*alā,* both in cases of God and man. There is no reason one should take *istawā* in one case as literal and in the other as a metaphor. It is not correct to ascribe to God's *istawā* the properties that one ascribes to His creatures. He has said, "We made the heavens with (Our) hands" (51:47), or "from among the things which Our hands have finished" (36:71), or "We wrote all things for him on the Tablets..." (7:145).

On the basis of these verses should a Muslim predicate to his Lord the properties that belong to a man as maker, as fashioner, as writer and as worker? Or should he deny to Him the reality of working, making, writing, as they behoove Him and His Holiness? Or should he say that these should not be taken in their apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*)? Or should he say that everyone's work has its own properties? Just as God's essence is not like the essence of His creatures, similarly, His acting, His working, His making and His fashioning are not like man's acting, working, making, and fashioning. "When we say X has made or written" we do not understand what action or reaction these works involve except on the basis of what we know of their doer, X, and not on the basis of these terms alone. These terms stand for some action and make

sense in relation to some particular agent. If you understand this point it will clarify many of the issues which most people do not understand, and show why there has been a lot of confusion in this matter.
[*Fatāwā* 33:175-186]

## (1.11) Fundamentals of the religion and the prophetic approach.

*The fundamentals of the religion, whether they are matters of belief and confession, or of confession as well as action, such as the one that concerns God's unity, attributes and* qadr, *or prophethood and the life hereafter, or whether they are arguments for them, have all been stated very clearly by God and His Prophet. However, the issues which theologians have raised, such as the negation of attributes and* qadr, *or arguments for the contingency of the world, are not part of the principles of the religion. Ibn Taym*īyyah *has explained the method of the Prophet in defining and arguing the principles of the religion and pointed out the difference that lies between his method and the method of the theologians.*

The fundamentals of the religion are either a matter of belief and confession or a matter of confession as well as action. They concern God's unity, attributes and *qadr*, prophethood and the life hereafter, as well as the arguments about them. So far as the principles are concerned, all that people need to know, believe and testify has been clearly and fully explained by Allah and His Prophet. These from the most important part of his mission. The Prophet has taught them in most clear terms and explained them most satisfactorily to the people. They represent the best effort that God has made through His prophets to establish the truth of His religion for mankind. The Book of God which was transmitted, in words and meaning, by the Companions of the Prophet, and thereafter by the Successors, and the wisdom embodied in the Sunnah of the Prophet, which was also transmitted by them, contains whatever is required or deemed necessary in this regard...

As for the second part, name, the arguments regarding the basic principles, it has not been properly appreciated by many theologians and philosophers. They have thought that scriptural arguments hang upon authority of some statements, hence their validity depends on the veracity of the person who makes those statements. Moreover, to determine the veracity of that person, they have advanced only some rational criteria. This has led them into error. In fact, they have erred in thinking that the arguments of the Qur'ān and Sunnah are merely traditional; on the contrary, they contain all rational required arguments. This is what the Elders of the *ummah* and the *a'immah*, who are known for their knowledge as well as faith, have believed. But these theologians and philosophers have failed to appreciate the arguments.

The Qur'ān has stated precisely and very forcefully the best that these people have to say. It has put them in the form of parables. God has said, "We have pronounced in this Qur'ān every kind of parable for people" (30:58). In fact, parables contain rational arguments, syllogistic as well as analogical, including what they call demonstrative arguments (*burhān*), which are nothing more than syllogistic arguments consisting of established premises, even though *burhān* in Arabic means more than that. The Qur'ān, for example, refers to the two miracles that were given to Moses as *burhān* (28:32).

To explain it further, In theological discussions, it is not justified to employ an analogical argument where the major and the minor terms are similar, nor is it justified to use syllogistic argument where the terms belong to the same class. For, as God has said, "nothing is like Him, (42:11); He cannot be likened with others or put in a proposition beside and on a par with other terms. This explains why the theologians and philosophers are not able to reach any definite conclusion in theological matters by means of

ts, or why they often advance contradictory
l to elect one argument against other and end up in

t that one should use in this field is the argument
*ās awlā*), whether it is a matter of deduction or
r'ān says, "To God applies the highest similitude"
ow that any perfection which is affirmed of a
gent being is free from all defects, and which is
ive rather that negative, should be affirmed of the
g prior to anything else. Again, every perfection
om all defects and which is found in any being
ed and controlled, has come to it only from its
d Ruler, and should be therefore affirmed of Him
. On the other hand, every imperfection and defect
t it other words, every want of perfection which is
thing created, contingent and possible, should be
prior to anything else. He deserves all the positive
re than and prior to any other being, whereas
contingent beings deserve the negative attributes...
s an example God's description of life hereafter.
e of its existence is subject to the knowledge of its
e the impossible cannot exist, God has described
f its existence at length. But He does not proceed
s the theologians do; that is to say He does not
nce by showing that it is theoretically possible.
y that it is possible because the assertion of its
lves nothing impossible. But how do you know,
t its assertion does not involve any impossibilities,
rnal? Moreover, theoretical possibility is nothing
of the knowledge of impossibility, and we know
of knowledge that something is impossible does
is really possible. We call something theoretically
ur mind neither knows that it is really possible nor
ossible.

beginning and at the end of Sūrat Al-Wāqi'ah (56), in Sūrat Al-Insān (76), Al-Munāfiqūn (63), and Fāṭir (35). In Al-Wāqi'ah, for example, He has said, "When the inevitable comes to pass, no soul will entertain falsehood concerning its coming. Many will it bring low; many will it exalt; when the earth shall be shaken to its depths, and the mountains shall be crumbled to atoms, becoming dust abroad. And you shall be sorted out into three classes: the People of the Right Hand, and what will be the People of the Right Hand! and the People of the Left Hand, and what will be the People of the Left Hand! and those Front-Runners, the Front-Runners, they will be the ones nearest to God" (56:1-11)...

These two categories of God's friends have been mentioned in the sublime words that the Prophet has quoted from God: "Whoever opposes a friend of Mine declares war against Me. None of my servants comes closer to Me through anything than by doing what I have enjoined upon him. And My servant draws nearer and nearer to Me by doing supererogatory works, till I love him. And when I love him I become his ears by which he hears, his eyes by which he sees, his hands by which he strikes, and his legs by which he moves."[664] In light of this *ḥadīth*, the righteous servants (*abrār*) of God are the People of the Right Hand, who approach Him by performing their duties, doing what God has enjoined on them and refraining from what He has forbidden. They do not take up supererogatory works nor abstain from things that are superfluous though permitted.

The Front-Runner favorites are those who seek God's favor by doing supererogatory works after they have fulfilled their duties. They do what is incumbent upon them as well as what is desired of them and refrain from the forbidden as well as the undesirable. So when they seek God's favor through everything they can do for the sake of God, God gives them His love. He has said, "My servant comes closer and closer to Me by doing supererogatory works till I love him." This is the most perfect love... For these favorites that which is permissible becomes an act of devotion by which they seek the favor of God. All their actions become worship; they will be given the pure drink to take, as the service that they had rendered was pure. The middle-rankers, on the other hand, do those things also which are only for themselves; they will neither be punished for them nor rewarded for them. They will have a drink which will not be completely pure; it will be something mixed. Just as they had mixed in their work things of the world, their drink shall also be mixed...

In Sūrat *Fāṭir* (35), too, God has mentioned the front-runners and the middle-rankers. He has said, "Then We gave the Book for inheritance to such of Our servants as We have chosen. But there are among them some who wrong their own souls, some who follow a middle course, and some who are, by God's leave, foremost in good deeds. That is the highest grace" (35:32)... The middle-rankers are those who fulfill their duties and refrain from forbidden things, and the foremost in good deeds are those who do both the obligatory and the supererogatory works.
[*Fatāwā* 10:175-83]

### (12.4) Prophets are greater than saints (*awliyā'*).

*Prophets are greater than the friends of God (*awliyā'*) who are not prophets. A* walī *cannot have a way to God in which he may dispense with Muḥammad (pbuh). Whoever says that Muḥammad was sent with exoteric knowledge but not with esoteric knowledge believes in one part of Islam and rejects the other.*

The *Salaf*, the *a'immah* and all the *awliyā'* of the *ummah* are agreed that prophets are greater than the *awliyā'* who are not prophets. God has classified the people who deserve His favor in four categories. He says, "All who obey God and the Messenger shall be in the company of those upon whom God has bestowed His blessings: the prophets, the *ṣiddiqūn* (who are most true to their faith) the *shuhadā'* (who lay down their lives for truth), the *ṣāliḥūn*; and how goodly a company are these!" (4:69)...

The best of Muḥammad's (pbuh) *ummah* are the people of the first generation (*qarn*). In an authentic *ḥadīth* reported through more than one channel, the Prophet said, "The best generation (*qarn*) is the one in which I have been sent, then those who come after them, and then those who come after them."[665] This *ḥadīth* has been recorded in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections and narrated by more than one set of narrators.

Of the Companions of the Prophet, the first group of *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* are better and more honorable than the others. God has said, "Not equal among you are those who spend (freely) and fought before the victory (with those who did so later). They are the higher in rank than those who spent (freely) and fought afterwards. But to all has God promised a goodly (reward)" (57:10). Victory here means victory in the form of the truce of Ḥudaybīyyah which came before the conquest of Makkah and regarding which God has said, "Verily We have granted you a manifest victory, that God may forgive you your faults of the past and those that may follow" (48:1-2). When people asked the Prophet whether it was really a victory he said, "Yes, it was."[666]

The best among the first Muslims were the four caliphs, and the best of them was Abū Bakr and then 'Umar. This was well known among the Companions, their righteous Successors, the *a'immah* of the *ummah* and the Muslims in general. The evidence that supports this is multiple; we have discussed them at length in our book *Minhāj as-Sunnah An-Nabawīyyah fī Naqd Kalām Ash-Shi'ah wa al-Qadarīyyah*[667]...

A group of mistaken people has claimed that the Seal of the Saints" is the best of all the friends (*awliyā'*) of God. They proffer the concept of the "Seal of the saints" on the pattern of "the Seal of the Prophets." However, no one among the early Ṣūfī masters put forward the idea before Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Al-Ḥakīm At-

Tirmidhī.[668] He wrote a book on the subject and expounded therein all sorts of erroneous ideas. After him, many a Ṣūfī in later ages claimed that he was the Seal of the Saints; some even said that "the Seal of the Saints" was higher in rank than "the Seal of the Prophets" since he had a better knowledge of God, and that the prophets received their knowledge of God through him. This is what Ibn 'Arabī, the author of *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyyah* and the *Fuṣūṣ* has claimed, in opposition to both revelation and reason, and in opposition to all the prophets and the friends *awliyā'* of God...

Everyone who comes to know of Muḥammad's message cannot become a friend of God unless he follows Muḥammad (pbuh). All that is part of the true religion and divine guidance can only be had through Muḥammad (pbuh). The general rule in this regard is that whoever gets the message of the prophet who is sent to him will not be entitled to the friendship of God unless he follows that prophet.

Whoever says that there have been friends of God who got the message of Muḥammad yet approached God in a way in which they did not need his guidance is a heretic and an infidel. If he claims that he needs Muḥammad's guidance only in matters exoteric but not in matters esoteric, or in matters of the Sharī'ah but not in those of the *ḥaqīqah,* he is worse than the Jews and the Christians who said that Muḥammad was sent to the Gentiles, not to the People of the Book, who only believed in one part of the religion and rejected the other parts, and therefore became infidels. Similarly, anyone who says that Muḥammad was sent with exoteric knowledge but not with esoteric knowledge also believes in one part of the Muḥammadan revelation and rejects the other. In fact, he is a worse rejecter and a greater infidel than the others, for esoteric knowledge is knowledge of things of the heart, faith, knowledge, feeling and sentiments which reside in the heart, and which constitute the real faith; this knowledge is better than knowledge of external action and behavior.

Hence, if anyone says that Muḥammad taught about external actions only, not about the realities of faith, and that these realities are not to be learned from the Qur'ān and Sunnah, he declares in effect that he believes only in part of Muḥammad's revelation and not the rest. He is worse than the one who says that he believes in one part of his revelation and not in another but does not say that the part he rejects is inferior than the one he accepts.

These heretics believe that sainthood (*walāyah*) is better than prophethood (*nubūwwah*) and endear the view to the people by saying that the *walāyah* of a prophet is better than his prophethood.[669] They say:

The stage of prophethood is in between,
Above the messenger and below the saint.

They claim that they participate in the *walāyah* of the Prophet which is higher than his messengerhood (*risālah*). This is their biggest error; no one participates in the *walāyah* of Muḥammad, not even Abraham or Moses, not to speak of these heretics. [*Fatāwā* I1:221- 61]

### (12.5) Friends (*awliyā'*) of God who are not prophets are not infallible.

*A friend (*walī*) of God does not have to be infallible. He may not be even aware of certain truths of the religion or may not be clear about them. People are not required to believe in all that he says, and he himself should not rely on the ideas he gets in his heart unless he ascertains that they agree with the* shar'.

A *walī* does not have to be infallible, above error or mistake. He may not be aware of some truths of the religion, or be clear about them; he may even imagine some things to be commanded by God or forbidden by Him whereas they are not commanded or forbidden. He may also consider some miracles to be a grace from

God whereas they are actually the tricks which Satan plays against imperfect people. It is not necessary that he know that they are the tricks of Satan. However, this does not prove that he is not a *walī*, for one of the graces of God which have been bestowed on this *ummah* is that He will overlook the errors which its members inadvertently commit, the things they forget, or the wrongs they are compelled to do...

Since a *walī* may commit errors, people are not required to believe in all that he says, for that would be making him a prophet. The *walī* himself should not rely upon what comes into his mind unless he ascertains that it is in agreement with the *shar'*. This is true of all the ideas that he considers to be inspired, communicated, or spoken by God. He should test all these ideas with the touchstone of what has been given to Muḥammad (pbuh). If it agrees with the latter, he may accept it; if not, he must reject it; and in case he is not clear whether it agrees or does not agree he should suspend judgment.

On this issue people are divided into three groups; two of them are on either extreme, and the third group steers a middle course between them. One group of people thinks that when they have believed a particular person to be a *walī* they are to accept whatever they think that person receives in inspiration from God, and justify whatever he does. The second group, when they find something a person says or does to be contradicting the *shar'*, rules out the possibility that he may be a *walī* and refuses to consider that he may be a *mujtahid* who has committed a error in judgment. The third group, which steers a course between these two and which is correct, says that we should not believe anyone to be infallible or innocent when he acts as a *mujtahid*. He is not to be followed in each and every thing he says, nor is he to be charged with unfaith (*kufr*) or transgression (*fisq*) if he errs or sins.

What is necessary is that one follow what God has revealed to His Messenger. If someone's view agrees with it and another's view does not agree, one should not plead for the view which does not agree, and should have the courage to say that it is against the *shar'*. It is only the prerogative of a prophet that we should believe in whatever he says of God and obey whatever he commands. As for other friends (*awliyā'*) of God, we are not required to obey them in everything they prescribe or to believe in everything they say. Their prescriptions and statements will be examined in light of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, and whatever agrees with them should be accepted and what does not should be rejected even if its author is a friend (*walī*) of God. If he is a *mujtahid* he will be forgiven for his mistakes and rewarded by God for the effort that he has put in. But his view which is opposed to the Qur'ān and Sunnah will be called error, though it will be an error which will be forgiven provided he tried his best to find out the will of God...

The points I have made here are that all the *awliyā'* must abide by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, that none of them is infallible, that neither they nor anyone else should follow whatever comes into their mind without referring it to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. This is agreed upon by all the *awliyā'* of God and whoever disagrees with it is certainly not a *walī* whom God would like us to follow. Either he is an infidel or he is utterly ignorant. This has been clearly endorsed by a number of great Ṣūfīs. Abū Sulaymān Ad-Dārānī,[670] for example, says, "When some idea of our people comes into my mind I do not accept it unless it is supported by two witnesses: the Qur'ān and the Sunnah." Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Junayd[671] (raa) said, "This knowledge of ours is governed by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Whoever does not read the Qur'ān or write *ḥadīth* should not talk of our ideas;" or, according to another version, "should not be obeyed." Abū 'Uthmān An-Nishāpūrī[672] said, "Whoever puts his words and actions under the control of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah speaks wisdom, and whoever puts his words and actions in the control of his desires only, speaks heresy, for God has said in His eternal speech, "If you follow it you shall be on the right path. Abū 'Āmr Ibn Nujayd[673] said, "All ecstatic

experiences which are not supported by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah are vain."
[*Fatāwā* 9:201-210]

## (12.6) The status of a *walī* depends upon his imitation of the Prophet.

*The greatest friends of God are those who follow the Prophet best.*

Leading personalities of the religion who have a deep insight into the religion and follow sincerely its straight path, whether Ṣūfīs or non-Ṣūfīs, advise everyone engaging in austerity, devotion and pursuing gnosis and illumination to abide by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Al-Junayd Ibn Muḥammad[674] said, "This knowledge of ours is governed by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Whoever does not read the Qur'ān or cite the *ḥadīth*, should not talk of our ideas." Abū Sulaymān Ad-Dārānī[675] said, "When an idea of our people comes to my mind, I do not accept it unless it is supported by two witnesses, the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. He has also said, "One who receives inspiration to do something should not act upon it unless he has a tradition in that regard." Abū 'Uthmān An-Nishāpūrī[676] said, "Whoever gives the Qur'ān and the Sunnah full control over his words and actions speaks wisdom, but whoever gives himself to his desires speaks only heresy (*bid'ah*), for God has said of His eternal speech, 'If you follow it you will be on the right path'" (24:54). Another Ṣūfī said, "Whoever does not examine his ideas every moment is not to be counted among the Ṣūfīs."

When Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī[677] was told that a certain Ṣūfī was visiting the town, he went to see him. But when he saw him spitting in the direction of the *qiblah*, he said to his companion, "Let us go back. This man cannot be trusted in the external manners of the Sharī'ah; how can he be trusted in its internal matters." What Abū Yazīd did may be supported from a *ḥadīth* reported in the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and other collections. There was an imām one of the mosques of the *Anṣār* (of Madinah), and every *Anṣārī* tribe had its own mosque. One day the Prophet visited the mosque of that imām, and found that the wall towards the *qiblah* had some sputum on it. He asked who had spit there, and was told that it had been done by the imām. On hearing that, he asked the people not to pray behind him. When the imām came and went to lead the prayer, people stopped him and said that the Prophet had advised them not to pray behind him. He then went to the Prophet and asked about it. The Prophet said, "Yes, they are right. You annoyed God and His Messenger."[678]

A number of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and *'ulamā'* have said, "If You see a person flying in the air or walking on water, do not be deceived. You have to ascertain whether he follows the commands of the Sharī'ah. Many more sayings of the Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and *a'immah* of the religion can be cited. In the eyes of all the greatest *walī* of God is the one who follows the Prophet best. That is the reason why Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddiq[679] is regarded the greatest *walī* after the Prophet. To be sure, the sun has never seen a man greater than Abū Bakr except the prophets and the messengers of God. This is because he followed the Prophet more truly than anyone else. There is also full agreement on the point that there is no way for people to approach God except through following the Prophet, who is the link between them and God.

However, in the *ṭarīqah* of these great Ṣūfīs there entered in later times many people along with their innovations, heresies and undesirable practices. To be sure, they are condemnable in the sight of God, His Messenger, and His *awliyā'* who are pious. They put forward the idea that the friends (*awliyā'*) of God have a way to God in which following the way of the Prophet is not required, that a *walī* may be equal to a prophet even greater than he, that someone of them may be the "seal of the saints" and greater than all the preceding *awliyā'*, even more knowledgeable than the Seal of the Prophets. These and like ideas have been uttered by heretics who entered the fold of the Ṣūfīs. It is these mistaken Ṣūfīs who became theosophists and came up with mystical philosophies. [*Ar-Radd 'alā al-Manṭiqiyyīn* 514-516]

### (12.7) Miracles

*The wali may work miracles, which may be of two kinds, one cognitive and intuitive and the other effective and efficient. Whether one or the other, if the miracle serves any religious purpose it will be regarded as a righteous act enjoined by the* shar' *as something either obligatory or desirable. However, if it accomplishes something which is only permissible, it will be regarded as a thing of the world and the walī will be required to thank God for it. But if it involves anything wrong, it will expose the* walī *to God's punishment and wrath. If a Muslim is lacking in miracles it does not mean any defect in his religion, nor does it degrade him in the sight of God.*

The word *mu'jizah* refers to everything which causes a violation of the ordinary phenomena of nature. This is the meaning of the word in common language as well as in the language of the first *a'immah*, Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbāl and others. Usually they call them *āyāt*, signs. However, most of the scholars in later ages have distinguished between *mu'jizah* and *karāmah*; the former, they reserve for the wonders of the prophets, and the latter for those of the *awliyā'*. The common element between the two is their violation of the ordinary phenomena.

Perfection lies in knowledge, power or self-sufficiency. You may further reduce them to two, knowledge and power; for power is either power to do something or to avoid something, which is the same as self-sufficiency. In any case, these three qualities are found in their most perfect form only in God; He it is who knows all things, can do anything, and can dispense with everything. He has asked the Prophet (pbuh) to declare that he owns none of these things by himself, "Say: I tell you not that with me are the treasures of God, nor do I know what is hidden, nor do I tell you that 1 am an angel. I but follow what is revealed to me" (16:50)...Thus he has asked him to state that he does not know the hidden, that he does not have the treasures of God with him, that he is not an angel who needs no food, drink or money, that his duty is to follow what is revealed to him, which is what religion is, and to carry out God's commands and adore Him, in knowledge and action, inside the heart and out in the external behavior. Of these three things he has only the part which God has given him: he only knows what God reveals to him, does what He empowers him to do, and dispenses with what He enables him to dispense with from among the things people usually or generally need.

Cognitive miracles are of various kinds. For example, one may hear what others may not hear; see in waking or in dream what others may not see; and know what others may not know. He may know through revelation (*waḥī*), inspiration (*ilhām*), extraordinary illumination, or true insight (*firāsah*) - ways which are usually called disclosure (*kashf*); vision (*mushāhadah*); conversation (*mukhāṭabah*), audition (*simā'*), all together often called *kashf* or *mukāshafah* since things are disclosed to the *walī* by these means. Efficient miracles produce something. They are called intention (*himmah*), strong will (*ṣidq*), and prayer which is granted (*da'wah mujābah*). They may also be a pure gift of God, with which the *walī* has nothing to do at all. For example, He may kill the enemy of His *walī* without his doing anything in the matter. The words in the sacred *ḥadīth* are: "Whoever works against a friend of Mine declares war against Me, and I avenge for My friend as a lion attacks its prey."[680] Or He may soften the hearts for him, create love in them for him, and so on. Again, things which are revealed to him may be revealed to him through someone else. "Good news," the Prophet says, "may be revealed in dreams, which either the person himself sees or someone else sees for him."[681] The Prophet also referred to it when he said, "You are witnesses of God on earth."[682] In short, miracles, cognitive or effective, may proceed either from the *walī* himself or from someone else in his place. God may also let others know about him or do things for him which he may not even imagine... However, when a miracle proceeds from someone else on his behalf, he will be one of its causes, and will be contributing to it...

If a miracle, cognitive or effective, accomplishes anything useful in the religion it is a righteous act commanded by the *shar'*as something obligatory or at least desirable. But if it produces something which is only permissible it will be one of the worldly goods for which the *walī* should be grateful to God. But if they produce or involve anything unlawful, whether forbidden or undesirable, they will call for God's wrath and punishment. Bal'am Ibn Bā'ūrā'[683] is a case in point. He was given miracles but, as the Qur'ān says, "he passed them by; therefore Satan followed him and he went astray" (7:175). Sometimes the person is to be excused, since he may err in his judgment or may be influenced by someone, or does not reflect on the issue properly, or does not have sufficient knowledge, or is passing through an abnormal state of mind, or is an invalid, or cannot dispense with the thing. His case will then be like that of Baraḥ Al-'Ābid.[684]

A miracle is censured either on account of the cause which produces it or the purpose for which it is performed. An example of the former is if you pray to God in some way which is forbidden, transgressing the limits you should observe in calling upon God. He has said, "Call on your Lord with humility and in private. For God does not love those who trespass beyond bounds" (7:55). An example of the latter is if you pray to God against someone for what he does not deserve, or pray to Him to help one who is a wrongdoer, or help him with your own will (*himmah*). Some intoxicated mystics, for example, assist and help wrongdoers. if they are mad or emotionally ill or insane they will not be taken to task for what they do. I have elsewhere discussed those things for which one may be excused and those things for which one may not. But if, on the other hand, they are sane and can exercise their will knowingly they will be acting like Bal‘ām. For whoever works a miracle in a wrong way or with a wrong purpose will be either forgiven like Baraḥ or punished like Bal‘ām.

To sum up, from the point of view of religion miracles are of three kinds: commendable, reprehensible and permissible, neither to be praised nor to be condemned. Of the permissible, those that serve a good purpose will be considered a blessing, but those that do not will be like any permissible thing which serves no serious purpose, like a game or play... It should also be noted that if a Muslim works no miracles, cognitive or effective, it will not cause any harm to his religion. If he is not given the knowledge of something hidden or not given power over some object of nature, it is no dishonor to him. It may even prove better for his religion unless he were asked to perform it as a duty or as something commended. On the other hand, if he fails to do something of the religion, obligatory or commended, he will be imperfect and will be liable to blame and punishment or will be deprived of a reward. By acquiring knowledge of the religion or imparting it to others, or enjoining its learning upon people, one wins the pleasure of God, His reward and blessing; but by acquiring knowledge of nature or gaining power over it one does not secure God's pleasure or reward except when it is part of the religion. One should be thankful to God for it and should see that it does not involve him in any sin.
[*Majmū‘at ar-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il* 5:2-9]

## (12.8) Satanic experiences

*The evil ones attend un-Islamic acts, such as whistling, clapping, and instrumental music. They move people and cause them to whirl around in ecstasy, dance, shout, rend their clothes,* *and engage in many more satanic acts.*

Those who say that angels and prophets attend whistling and clapping sessions and love them are certainly wrong and mistaken. In fact, it is the evil ones who attend these sessions, and it is they who descend upon those who participate in them and make them shout. Aṭ-Ṭabarānī has recorded a *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet said, "Satan asked God for a house, and God said, 'Your house is the bathroom (of the people).' He then asked for a book to recite. God said, 'You shall recite poetry.' He said 'Lord, give me something to issue calls.' God said the thing that will issue calls for you is the musical instrument (*mizmār*).'"[685] He has also told Satan in His Book, "Lead to destruction those whomsoever you can from among them with your (seductive) voice" (17:64). Commenting on this verse, a number of Elders have said that voice here means music. To me it means music as well as all other sounds which lead people away from God. In another *ḥadīth*, the Prophet said, "I have been forbidden two evil and foolish sounds of seductive entertainments and musical instruments that are produced by Satan, and sounds of beating one's face, rending clothes and saying, how unfortunate! how sad! how helpless."[686]

Many people that have mystical revelations (*kashf*) have seen the evil ones attending unlawful sessions where people engage in whistling and clapping. They come upon them and lead them into rapture and satanic frenzy, till they indulge in dance under the very nose of the audience. Some mystics have also seen that the evil ones join people in their dancing and whistling but when they call them for help they just leave them and let them fall to the floor.

The truth about these experiences is known only to him who has faith and conviction. However, one who follows the Sharī'ah and refrains from unjustified ventures (*bid'ah*) will be on the right path and attain the good of this world and the next, even though he may not know the truth about these experiences. He will be like one who takes a proper guide to Makkah and reaches there along with his water, food and other goods he has taken with him. But one who takes a guide who does not know the road or misleads him will either perish on the way or return to the place whence he started after experiencing a lot of suffering. The right guide is the Prophet, whom God sent as one who gives good tidings, issues warnings, acts as a lamp shedding light, guides people to the straight path of God, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and leads them to His grace by His leave.

Satan is active in un-Islamic poetry sessions. He causes people to foam and froth at the mouth, bray and scream and make fearful sounds. They come to feel within themselves an urge to shout, to do things that are wrong, such as bursting into anger, tearing clothes, beating one's face, heaving and sighing and many other devilish acts as drunken and mad people do. The frenzy and intoxication which music generates is like the intoxication which people get by drinking wine. Both turn them from remembering God, offering prayers, reading the Qur'ān, reflecting on its verses, and following its instructions. They act like those who spend money on frivolous songs and music which divert them from God and excite anger and enmity among them, setting one against the throat of another. You can see that when a sorcerer kills a man with his magic.

To the same category belong the champions of unbelief (*kufr*), heresy and evil, even though they may not be lacking in austerity, devotion and miracles, as you have among the pagans and the People of the Book. You may also have them among the Muslims, among the Khawārij for example, about whom the Prophet has said, "You will find your prayers far inferior to their prayers, your fasting and reading the Qur'ān far inferior to their fasting and reading. But they will read the Qur'ān and it will hardly go down their throats; they will go out of Islam as an arrow goes out of the bow. Kill them wherever you find them; you will be rewarded for it on the Day of Judgment."[687]

[*Fatāwā* 11:64104]

# PART V

# ISLAMIC SOCIETY

## 13. GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

### (13.1) Caliphate and monarchy

*"The caliphate (*khilāfah*) will last thirty years, when it will turn into monarchy." But the transfer of power to kings and their deputies will be due to the faults of both the rulers and the ruled.*

The Prophet (pbuh) said, "The caliphate (*khilāfah*), on the pattern of the prophetic government (*khilāfat an-nubūwwah*) will last for thirty years, thereafter God will give His Kingdom or the government to whom He wills,"[688] In a *ḥadīth* which Abū Dāwūd has recorded on the authority of 'Abdul-Wārith and Al-'Awwām the words are, "The *khilāfah* will last thirty years, then there will be monarchy," or "The *khilāfah* will last thirty years, then it will turn into monarchy."[689] This *ḥadīth* is well known (mashh¥r); it has been narrated by Imåm Óammåd Ibn Salmah, 'Abdul-Wårith Ibn Sa'•d, and Al-'Awwåm Ibn Óawshab and others through Sa'•d Ibn Jam˙ån and then Saf•nah, a client (mawlå) of the Prophet, and recorded by the compilers of the Sunan collections such as Abū Dāwūd and others. Imām Aḥmad and others have based their support on the caliphate of the four rightly-guided caliphs (*al-khulafā' ar-rāshidūn al-arba'ah*) on this *ḥadīth*, which Aḥmad has verified. He has also argued from it against those who have wavered about the caliphate of 'Alī on the grounds that people were divided over him. He has said that those who do not count him as the fourth rightly-guided caliph are further more removed from truth than their donkeys; he has even forbidden marital relations with them. That the rightly-guided caliphate lasted for thirty years is agreed upon by various groups, the *fuqahā',* the scholars of the Sunnah, and the leaders of Ṣūfism. This is also the belief of the common Muslim.

Only some groups of heterodox theologians have differed. The Rāfiḍah, for example, disown the first three caliphs; the Khawārij find fault with the two sons-in-law of the Prophet, 'Uthmān and 'Alī; and the Nāsibah[690] disapprove of 'Alī. Even some self-styled Ahl as-Sunnah have abstained from taking sides with regard to the caliphate of 'Alī. The Prophet died in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal, 11 A.H., and the peace that was brought about between the two factions of the Believers by the abdication of Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī,[691] the grandson of the Prophet, went into effect in the month of Jumādā 1, 41 A.H., known as the year of unification since the whole community was united under the rule of Mu'āwīyah.[692] He was the first king in Islam.

The words that occur in the *ḥadīth* recorded by Muslim are, "There will be *khilāfat-nubūwwah* (a government on the pattern of prophetic government) and blessing; then there will be kingship and blessing; then there will be kingship and coercion (*jabrīyyah*); then there will be a kingship which is cruel (*'aḍūḍ*)."[693] In another *ḥadīth*, authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and well known (*mashhūr*), recorded in the *Sunan* collections, the Prophet said, "Those of you who live after me will see a number of controversies coming up, but you must follow my practice (*sunnah*) and the practice of the right-minded and rightly-guided caliphs after me. Stick to it and hold it fast. Beware of innovations, for every innovation is wrong."[694]

However, one may call *khilāfah* those rulers also who came after the Righteous Caliphs even though they acted as kings and not as deputies of the Prophet. We have a *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Hurayrah and recorded by both Al-Bukhārī and Muslim that the Prophet said, "The people of Israel were ruled by their prophets. Whenever a prophet died another prophet took his place. But there will be no prophet after me; there will be only deputies (*khulafā'*), and they will be many." Thereupon people asked him, "What do you advise us to do?" He said, "Keep the pledge you make to the one who comes first and then to the one who comes next, and give them their due, for God will call them to account for the people He puts under them."[695] The words, "and they will be many", show that there will be caliphs besides the rightly guided caliphs, who will be few. Again the words, "keep the pledge you give to the first caliph and then to the one who comes next," show that caliphs will be differing among themselves, though the rightly guided among them will not. Furthermore, the words, "Give them their due for God will call them to account for the people He puts under them," support the view of the Ahl as-Sunnah that we should give the rulers what is their due in money and booty.

I have said at more than one place that if the government passes into the hands of the kings and their deputies whom they appoint as judges and governors, it is not only because of anything wrong in them but also because of the evils of the people under their rule. The Prophet has said, "As you are so will be the rulers over you,"[696] and God has said, "Thus do We put the wrong-doers one above the other" (6:129)... What I want to underline is that a number of things, good and bad, happened during the period following the caliphate on the pattern of prophetic government, and that whether one mentions them or ignores them, both stances are fraught with difficulty. For the Prophet's words that the *khilāfat nubūwwah*, government on the pattern of prophetic government, would come to an end is a kind of censure against the monarchy that followed. This is particularly clear in the *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Bakr which says that the Prophet had a vision and then said, "There will be a *khilāfat nubūwwah,* a government on the pattern of prophetic government, then God will give the kingdom to whom He wills."[697] This is also supported by the texts which say that the appointment of the imām and other office bearers (*umarā'*) is a great obligation, and which speak of the rewards which are due on the performance of the duties which these offices involve. Hence one has to distinguish between the governments that are good and the governments that are bad, and see what one would say about those which are both. It has been reported that the Prophet said, "God gave me the choice to live like a servant and messenger or to live like a prophet and king; and I chose to be a servant and messenger."[698]

Since kingship comprises various governmental offices (*walāyāt*), judicial and administrative, the question arises whether monarchy may be considered lawful and *khilāfah* commendable by comparison, or whether it is essentially unlawful and is only justified in case the knowledge and authority required for the caliphate is lacking. In our view monarchy is essentially unlawful, and our duty is to set up a government on the pattern of the prophetic government (*khilāfat nubūwwah*). This is because the Prophet said, "You must follow my practice and the practice of the rightly guided caliphs after me; stick to it and hold it fast. Refrain from unjustified innovations and remember that every (such) innovation is an error."[699] The Prophet prefaced these words, with the observation, "Whoever of you lives after me will see a lot of dissension." This *ḥadīth* is therefore a command; it exhorts us to follow necessarily the practice of the *khilāfah* (of the Prophet), enjoins us to abide by it, and warns against deviation from it. It is a command from him and definitely makes the establishment of *khilāfah* a duty... Again, the fact that the Prophet expressed his dislike for the monarchy that will follow the *khilāfat nubūwwah* proves that monarchy lacks in something which is compulsory in religion.

Those who Justify monarchy argue from the words which the Prophet said to Mu'āwīyah. "If you get the rule be good and kind."[700] But there is no argument in it. They also argue from the words which 'Umar spoke to Mu'āwīyah when the latter justified the pomp and show of royalty which he had adopted in Syria. He said, "I neither approve of this behavior of yours nor disapprove of it."[701] They say that this means that 'Umar neither forbade it nor permitted it. Mu'āwīyah gave his reason for adopting those things, but 'Umar was not satisfied with them. Hence the issue is a matter of opinion.

However, there are two views on the subject. One is that the establishment of *khilāfah* is an obligatory duty, and exemption from it may be permitted only on grounds of necessity. The other is that monarchy is acceptable on the grounds that it promotes the objectives of the government (*wilāyah*) rather than retarding their realization, and the rule is that when the lack of something makes the realization of a desired end difficult, that thing may be permitted. The question whether the setting up of a government is in itself something obligatory or desirable is a matter of discussion. There are two extreme views on the subject. One is that it is incumbent upon everyone whatever be the situation, and exemption on any grounds, of necessity or otherwise, is to be condemned. This is the view of the unorthodox sects like the Khawārij and the Mu'tazilah, as well as some groups of self-styled Ahl as-Sunnah and ascetics. The other view is that monarchy is in principle lawful and the condition that it must follow the pattern of the (rightly guided) caliphs is not at all necessary. This is the view of the unjust rulers, libertarians and some Murji'ah. We will discuss this point in more detail later.

To sum up: The change from *khilāfat nubūwwah* to monarchical rule (*mulk*) may occur either because the society is unable to set up the *khilāfat nubūwwah* because it holds monarchy to be lawful or it prefers monarchy even though it has the knowledge and the power to set up the *khilāfah*. If it is the first case, that is, if the society does not have the knowledge and power to set up the *khilāfah,* the king who establishes his rule will have an excuse. For even though the establishment of *khilāfat nubūwwah* is a duty when society has the necessary ability, it would not be incumbent, like other duties when one does not have the capability. A case in point is Najāshi, the ruler of Abyssinia who embraced Islam (in private) and could not declare it openly. The case of Joseph, the Righteous One, too, is also somewhat relevant. To be sure, monarchical rule was lawful in case of some

prophets like David, Solomon and Joseph. However, if monarchy is established in place of *khilāfah* when society has the knowledge and power to set up *khilāfah,* and if people are of the view that *khilāfat nubūwwah* is only something desirable, not obligatory, and that monarchical rule is lawful in our Sharī'ah, too, as it was lawful in earlier codes, then a just king will not be guilty of any sin. But this is so only when the people are correct in this view of theirs... But if the establishment of the establishment of *khilāfat nubūwwah* is a duty as well as being within the powers of society, then to ignore it is to call for condemnation and punishment. Would that be committing a major sin or only a minor sin? If it is a minor sin it will not affect the credibility (*'adālah*) of the people in that society; but if it is a major sin there are two opinions on the subject of credibility. However, one may say that if the king who rules does the good which is enjoined and refrains from the evil which is forbidden and by so doing earns more reward than the penalty he incurs by ignoring what is obligatory or committing what is forbidden, it is possible that his good deeds outweigh his evil deeds...
[*Fatāwā* 35:18-20]

### (13.2) The purpose of government

*The purpose of political authority is to establish the religion of God in its entirety and make His word supreme.*

The purpose of political authority is to subject the whole of human life to God and to make His word supreme. It is to accomplish this purpose that God has created man, revealed Books, and sent Messengers. It is for this purpose also that the Messengers and those who believed in them have striven and waged wars. God has said, "I have only created jinns and men that they may serve Me" (51:56); "Not a messenger did We send before you without this inspiration sent by Us to him: that there is no god but I; therefore worship and serve Me" (21:25); "We assuredly sent amongst every people a messenger (with the command): serve God, and eschew evil" (16:36). God has put the message of all the messengers in these words, "Worship and serve (*i'budū*) Allah, you have no other god but Him" (7:59, 63, 73, 85; 11:50, 61, 84).

We worship and serve God when we obey Him and obey His Messenger. This idea is also conveyed by words such as good, virtue, piety, equity, devotion, righteousness and noble conduct. To be sure, these words differ to some extent in their meanings, but we cannot go into it at the present. It is with the same object in view that the Believers have been asked to fight the people. God has commanded, "Fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevails justice and faith in God altogether and everywhere" (8:39). The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have a *ḥadīth* reported by Mūsā Al-Ash'arī that the Prophet was asked which one fights in the cause of God, the one who fights to demonstrate his bravery, the one who fights to defend the honor of his tribe, or the one who wants to earn a name. He replied, "The one who fights in order to make the word of God supreme."[702]

People cannot secure the good of this world or the next unless they work together, cooperate among themselves and strive together for their cause. Through cooperation and mutual assistance they achieve the good they want and ward off the evil they hate. That is why man is social by nature. When they join hands they secure what is good for all and avoid what is evil for all. For the same purpose they submit together to an authority, without which they cannot live.

God has sent His Messenger, Muḥammad (pbuh), to mankind, guided him to the best Way, given him the best Law, and revealed to Him the best Book. He has sent him to the best of the people whom He has raised for mankind, whom He has given the most perfect of all religions, and upon whom He has completed His blessings. He has reserved His Paradise for those who believe in Him and in His revelation. He will not be accepting any religion from anyone other than the religion of Islam that He has brought. Every other religion will be rejected by God and its adherents will only be losers.

God has said in His Book that He has sent down the Book and iron so that the people may pursue the path of justice. His words are "We sent down Our messengers with clear signs and sent down with them the Book and the Balance (of right and wrong) that men may stand forth in justice; and we sent down iron in which is (material for) mighty war, as well as many benefits for mankind, that God may test who it is that will help Him unseen and His messengers. For God is full of Strength, Exalted in Might" (157:25).

That is why the Prophet has commanded his community to appoint rulers who can manage their affairs, and has enjoined upon the rulers to assign various offices to those who deserve them, and to rule over the people with justice. He has also commanded the masses to obey their rulers when they obey God. He has said, "Whenever three of you are traveling, let one of you be the leader (*amīr*)."[703] This *ḥadīth* has been recorded by Abū Dāwūd in his *Sunan*, on the authority of Abū Sa'īd, as well as Abū Hurayrah. Aḥmad has noted in his *Musnad* another *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ibn 'Umar. The Prophet said, "If three of you are in an open land you must put a leader upon yourselves."[704]

Now if the Prophet has commanded us to put up a leader when we are a very small party of three, we are to do so all the more when we are more. That is why to accept a government office, considering it as a religious obligation and discharge its duties to the best of one's abilities, seeking only the pleasure of God, is one of the noblest and most meritorious acts. Imām Aḥmad has noted in his *Musnad* that the Prophet (pbuh) said, "The most beloved of all to God is the ruler (imām) who is just, and the most detestable of all to Him is the ruler who is unjust."[705]
[*Fatāwā* 28:61-5]

## (13.3) Setting up public offices (*wilāyāt*) and discharging the duties thereof is one of the great acts that win God's favor.

*To look after public offices is a great religious duty, and to manage their affairs according to the will of God and His Prophet is one of the noblest acts which win God's favor.*

To administer the affairs of society is one of the greatest duties of religion; without performing that duty we can not secure the good of this life or the good of the next. Men cannot be happy unless they form a society and cooperate with one another to fulfill their needs. And they cannot manage their society unless they put up an authority over them. The Prophet has instructed, "If three of you go out on a journey make one of yourselves your leader."[706] Abū Dāwūd has recorded this *ḥadīth* on the authority of Abū Sa'īd as well as Abū Hurayrah. Imām Aḥmad has noted in his *Musnad* the *ḥadīth* reported by 'Abdullah Ibn 'Āmr that the Prophet said, "If any three of you are in open land appoint a leader from among you and obey him."[707] He has thus made it incumbent on us that we establish a leader over the smallest social group, even though it is temporary and lasts only for a short time. Obviously, it is all the more incumbent on larger and more permanent communities. Further, God has commanded us to enjoin the good and forbid the evil, and this duty cannot be rendered without power and authority. Likewise, all other social duties such as *jihād*, maintaining peace and order, justice, organizing *ḥajj* and *'īd* festivals, redressing abuses, helping the oppressed, enforcing the *ḥudūd*, and so on, cannot be carried out without political power and authority. That is why a prophetic *ḥadīth* says, "The ruler (*sulṭān*) is the shadow of God on earth,"[708] and the saying goes that sixty years under an unjust ruler is better than one night without a ruler. History is a sufficient witness to this truth.

This is also the reason why the Elders like Fudayl Ibn 'Iyād[709] and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal used to say, "Had we only one prayer which God would like to grant we would have prayed for a good ruler." The Prophet said, "God loves three things: that you worship Him and associate none with Him, that you hold together the rope (i.e. religion) of God and divide not into groups, and that you wish well for those to whom God has entrusted your affairs."[710] (This has been recorded by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.) The Prophet also said, "No Muslim should ever make light of three things: seeking the pleasure of God in all that one does, wishing well for those who manage the people's affairs, and solidarity with the community since its prayers protect those who adhere to it."[711] This *ḥadīth* has been reported by the compilers of the *Sunan* works. In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections we have it that the Prophet said, "Religion is well-wishing, religion is well-wishing, religion is well-wishing." "For whom, Messenger of God?" people asked. He said, "For God, for His Book, for His Messenger, and for the leaders of the Muslims, as well as the masses."[712]

Political authority (*imārah*) must, therefore, be taken as a religious matter and sought as a means to secure God's pleasure and favor. Seeking God's pleasure through it by pursuing His will and complying with the injunctions of His Messenger in its exercise is one of the most meritorious acts. It proves detrimental only to those people who seek by it nothing but power and money. Ka'b Ibn Mālik narrates that the Prophet once said, "Two hungry wolves will not cause more havoc to a flock of sheep than a man can do to religion who seeks through it money and honor."[713] At-Tirmidhī, who has recorded this *ḥadīth*, observes that it is authentic or fairly authentic (*ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ*). The Prophet has made it very clear that greed for money and power plays havoc with religion just as or more than the havoc which two hungry wolves may cause to a flock of sheep. God has depicted the sorrowful fate of the one who will be given his scroll of deeds in his left hand. "(He will say:) Of no profit to me has been my wealth (and) my authority has gone away from me" (69:29-9).

The end of one who runs after power will be like the end of Pharaoh, and the fate of one who hankers for money will be like the fate of Qārūn. God has referred to the end of both men in His Book, where He has said, "Do they not travel through the land and see what was the end of those before them? They had even much more power, and (had left) greater impressions on the land, but God did call them to account for their sins, and naught had they to defend themselves against God" (40:21); and, "That home of the Hereafter We shall give to those who intend not highhandedness or mischief on earth. And the (best) end is only for the righteous" (28:83).

People are of four kinds. First are those who try to dominate others and create mischief on earth which is certainly a sin against God. They are the mischief makers among kings and rulers like Pharaoh and his party; they are the worst people on earth. God has said of them, "Truly Pharaoh elated himself in the land and broke up its people into sections, and depressed one of its groups: their sons he slew, but kept alive their daughters, for he was indeed a maker of mischief" (28:4). Muslim has recorded in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet which Ibn Mas'ūd has reported: "No one will enter Paradise who has a particle of arrogant pride in his heart, nor will anyone enter Hell who has a particle of faith in his heart."[714] Hearing that, a person asked, "Messenger of God, I like to wear good clothes, and put on fine shoes. Is this arrogance? The Prophet said, "No. God is beautiful and loves beauty. Arrogance is to deny the truth (*baṭr al-ḥaqq*) and to despise the people (*ghamṭ an-nās*)[715] *Baṭr al-ḥaqq* is to deny and reject the truth, and *ghamṭ an-nās* is to disdain people and belittle them. This is the picture of those who try to dominate others and create mischief on earth.

The second kind of people are those who create mischief on earth but do not try to dominate others, such as thieves, miscreants, riffraff. The third group are those who grab power but abstain from mischief; they have a religion which they want to see prevail over the people. The fourth group are those destined for Paradise, who try neither to dominate others nor create mischief, and they are far better than others. It is for them that God has said, "So lose not heart, nor fall into despair. You will gain mastery if you are true in faith" (3:139); and, "Be not weary and faint-hearted, crying for peace; you shall be uppermost, for God is with you, and will never put you in loss for your (good) deeds" (47:5); and, "Honor belongs to God and His Messenger, and to the Believers" (63:8)...

When power and money are put at the service of God and to further His cause they will bring happiness in this world as well as the next. But if power is dissociated from religion or religion from power, the condition of the people is bound to deteriorate. The difference between the righteous and the wicked, the God-fearing and the God-defying, concerns intention as well as action. the Prophet said, "God will not look at your faces, nor at your property and wealth; He will look at your hearts and deeds."[716]

When money and honor become the moving force for the people in authority, they deviate from faith and fortify themselves in their jurisdiction. Many people think that there is necessarily a conflict between power on the one hand and faith and honest religious life on the other. Of them, some prefer religion and keep away from things without which religion cannot be complete. Others consider those things to be necessary and discard religion in the belief that they cannot have both together. They just discard religion to become an object of pity and disdain, devoid of any honor and authority. This is why when many men of religion are not able to live up to their religion and have to suffer in their struggle to establish it. They begin to think that their approach is not right or cannot be effective, and that they cannot secure their own well-being or the well-being of others.

Both groups are wrong: those who choose the path of religion but fail to take it to completion, since they do not have power, or cannot carry out *jihād*, or do not have money for it, as well as those who strive for power and money, and wage war for it, but have no plan to establish religion (*iqāmat ad-dīn*) with it. Both these ways are pursued by people who incur the wrath of God and stray from truth: the former being the way of the Christians that strayed from truth, and the latter the way of the Jews who had the wrath of God as their portion. The right path is the path of the prophets, the most true (in their faith), the martyrs, and the righteous. It is the path of Prophet Muḥammad, the (rightly guided) caliphs who succeeded him, his Companions, and those who followed in their footsteps. It is the path of the first *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*, and of those who followed them truly and correctly. May God be pleased with them and may they be pleased with God, and may He give them the gardens of Paradise under which rivers will flow to live in them forever; that is really the great success.

Every Muslim should work for this end as much as he can. If he is appointed to a position of authority and uses his powers to serve God, to establish His religion, and promote the well-being of the Muslims as much as he can by performing sincerely the duties which are enjoined upon him and by refraining from the things which are forbidden, he will not be questioned for what he could not do. Certainly it is good for the *ummah* to appoint to public office people who are righteous rather than wicked. Those who are not able to establish the religion with the power they have or through a *jihād* they can organize, but do wish in their hearts the good of the *ummah*, pray for its well-being, and do whatever they can, they will not be asked about what they could not do. To establish religion and maintain it on the correct lines two things are needed, the Book that guides and the iron that defends, as God has said.

It is, therefore, the duty of every Muslim to bring the Qur'ān and the iron together in the cause of God, as well as pray for His help. Goods of the world may be used for religion. Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal[717] said, "Son of Adam, you need the good of this world, but you need much more the good of the next world. Hence, if you

begin with the good of the next world, you engage also in the good of this world and accomplish it properly. But if you begin with the good of this world you will miss the good of the next world and will also risk the good of this world." This is endorsed by a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet recorded by At-Tirmidhī: "One who begins his day caring first for his next life, God will set his affairs right, grant him peace and tranquility of the heart, and the world will come to him with its head down. But if one begins the day thinking first for this world, God will let his efforts go in different directions, and let poverty stare him in the eye, and nothing of the world will come to him except what is written for him."[718] The essence of this truth has been stated in the Qur'ān: "I have only created jinns and men that they may serve Me. No sustenance do I require that they should feed Me. For God is He who gives (all) sustenance, Lord of Power, Steadfast (for ever)" (57:56-8).
[*Fatāwā* 28:390-7]

### (13.4) Consultation

*Men in authority must hold consultation. When there is disagreement among the Muslims on an issue each should be asked to give his opinion, and whichever opinion is closest to the Qur'ān and Sunnah should be adopted.*

A man in authority (*walī al-amr*) cannot dispense with consultation. God has commanded His Messenger, "Pass over (their faults) and ask for God's forgiveness for them, and consult them in affairs. Then, when you have taken a decision put your trust in God, for God loves those who put their trust (in Him)" (3:159). Abū Hurayrah says that no one consulted his companions more than the Prophet did.[719] Some people have said that God commanded His Prophet to hold consultation in order that he might win over his Companions and set an example for the people to come later. He asked him to do so in matters in which he was not given any specific instructions, such as matters concerning war or other worldly affairs.

God has praised the Believers who hold consultation. He has said, "That which is with God is better and more lasting for those who believe and put their trust in their Lord: those who avoid the greater crimes and shameful deeds, and when they are angry even then forgive; those who hearken to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; who conduct their affairs by mutual consultation; and who spend out of what We bestow on them for sustenance" (42:36-38). When the person in authority consults people and as a result comes to know the will of God's Book or the Prophet's Sunnah or the consensus of the Muslims, he should follow it and act upon it. No one can ask for obedience in things which are opposed to them, however great he may be in religion or in worldly affairs. God has said, "You who believe! Obey God, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you" (4:59). But if the matter is something in which Muslims differ, everyone should be asked to give his opinion and state the reasons for it, and whichever view is closest to the Book of God and the Sunnah of the Prophet should be adopted; for God has said, "If you differ in anything among yourselves refer it to God and His Messenger, if you do believe in God and the Last Day. This is best and most suitable for final determination" (4:59).

People who have authority (*ulū al-amr*) are of two kinds: rulers (*umarā'*) and scholars (*'ulamā'*). "If they are right, the masses will also be right. Both should obey God and His Messenger and adhere strictly to His Book in all that they say and do. In the new issues that come up, they must consult the Qur'ān and Sunnah and try to find out what they are required to do. It is only in cases where they are unable to form an opinion either because they do not have time for it or because they are not able to find out the will of God and His Prophet, or because arguments in favor or against are equally strong, they may follow the opinion of an earlier scholar in whose knowledge and piety they have confidence. This is the best view in

this regard. However, some people say that they are not allowed to follow in any case anyone's opinion without discussion. A third group says just the opposite - that they can follow in every case. All these three views have been held by different scholars in the school of Aḥmad as well as other schools.
[*Fatāwā* 28:386-7]

### (13.5) Obeying government authorities.

*To obey the authorities and to wish them well is a duty incumbent upon all Muslims unless they are asked to do something sinful. They are not to rise up against them so long as they establish ṣalāh among them.*

Muslim and other compilers of *ḥadīth* have noted that 'Ubādah Ibn Aṣ-Ṣāmit (raa) said that they pledged to the Messenger of God that they would listen to him and obey him in prosperity as well as adversity, in joy as well as sorrow, even when they were not given their due, that they would not dispute anyone for a post he was worthy of, that they would tell the truth and work for it wherever they were, and that they would not care for any adverse remark in doing the will of God."[720] The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have also the *ḥadīth* reported by 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar that the Prophet said, "Every Muslim should listen (to the authorities) and obey their commands whether he likes it or not except if he is asked to do something sinful, in which case he is not to listen or obey."[721] Muslim has noted the *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Hurayrah that the Prophet said, "You must listen (to the authorities) and obey them in prosperity and in adversity, whether you like it or not, even when you are not given your due (*atharatan 'alayka*)."[722] The phrase *atharatan 'alayka* means that one should obey the people in authority even when one does not get justice and receive what is his due. This is explained in another *ḥadīth* recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* on the authority of 'Usayd Ibn Ḥuḍayr (raa). A man from the *Anṣār* came to the Prophet and said, "Will you not appoint me to some post as you have done with that other man?" The Prophet said, "You may not get justice after me, but you will have to bear it patiently till you see me at the Fount."[723] Look also at the *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn Mas'ūd and recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. The Prophet said, "After me you will see that some people are favored over others, and you will not be approving of various things which may happen." People asked him what he would then advise them to do. He said, "Render what you owe to others, and ask God to give you your due"[724]...

This is what God and His Messenger have said regarding obedience to men in authority and loyalty to them. It is certainly a duty incumbent upon every Muslim. He should do so even if he does not receive justice from them; however, he should not comply with their commands even though he may be compelled to do so if it means violating the will of God or His Messenger, for disobedience to God and His Messenger is a sin, strictly forbidden. To be sure, obedience to men in authority and wishing them well is a duty even if one has not pledged it to them or sworn fealty to them. It is incumbent on him just as prayers five times a day, or *zakāh,* or fasting (in Ramaḍān) or pilgrimage to the House of God, or any other duties which He and His Messenger have made incumbent upon him. If he pledges and swears to obey them in compliance with the command of God and His Messenger regarding obedience and loyalty to men in authority, he is not permitted to violate his oath, whether he swears in the name of God or not. Obedience to men in authority and loyalty to them are duties which God has made obligatory, even if one does not pledge fealty or swear obedience and loyalty to them. If one pledges or swears, it is all the more obligatory on him. Certainly God and His Messenger have strictly forbidden disobedience and disloyalty to them, even if he has not taken any oath of obedience or loyalty...

If anyone has pledged to be obedient and loyal to the men in authority as God and His Messenger want people to do, or to offer *ṣalāh*, pay *zakāh*, fast during Ramaḍān, keep the trust, do justice, etc., no one should advise him to violate his pledge or break his oath, nor should he himself seek advice from anyone to that effect. If anyone advises him to violate his pledge and act against his oath he lies against God and alleges against Islam what is definitely wrong. If he advises a commoner to break a contract of everyday life concerning, for example, trade, marriage, or a service which he has pledged and which he must observe even if he has not sworn it, he definitely lies against God and lies against Islam. If he advises one who has pledged it on oath, he will be committing something very, very grave. Now if this is the case in matters of everyday life, it is much graver if the advice concerns the pledge given to the men in authority which is so much more important in the sight of God... If the men in authority force people to submit to their rule, carry out their orders, and be loyal to them as they should and take an oath to that effect, no one is justified in advising them to withhold their obedience and loyalty, defying the will of God and His Messenger, and go back on the pledge they have sworn. What is an ordinary duty in other circumstances becomes more rather than less incumbent when one swears it, and the fact that one has been forced to do so does not alter that...

People distinguished in their knowledge, piety and honor in society have never allowed anyone to defy authorities or cheat them or rise up against them in any form, and sin against God thereby. This has been the practice of the scholars of the Ahl as-Sunnah, past and present, as well as others. The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have noted the *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn 'Umar (raa) that the Prophet said, "On the Day of Judgment, every traitor will carry a flag on his back as big as his treachery."[725] He has also said, "The most heinous treachery is that against the leader-ruler (imām) of the Muslims."[723a] 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar narrated the latter *ḥadīth* when a group of people of Madinah rose up against their ruler and wanted to break the pledge they had given to him. Muslim has recorded in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* on the authority of Nāfi' that when the incident of Ḥarrah[726] occurred during the reign of Yazīd Ibn

Mu'āwīyah, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar went to 'Abdullah Ibn Mu'tī'. When the latter offered him a chair, 'Abdullah said, "I did not come to sit with you; I came to narrate a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet I have heard. He said, "Whoever withdraws from a pledge he has sworn will not be able to offer any excuse to God on the Day of Judgment, and whoever dies without swearing a pledge of fealty (to any imām) dies the death of the pre-Islamic days of Ignorance."[727] The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have also the *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn Abbās that the Prophet said, "If anyone of you finds his ruler (*amīr*) doing something he does not like, he should bear it patiently, for one who rises up against the ruler (*ṣulṭān*), even to the span of a hand, and dies in that state dies the death of the days of Ignorance."[728]

Muslim has noted the *ḥadīth* reported by Abū Hurayrah that the Prophet said, "Whoever defies (the authority) and leaves the unified community (*jamā'ah*) dies the death of Ignorance. Whoever fights under the banner of Ignorance and is moved by tribal solidarity, or calls for a tribal cause, or defends only tribal interests, and is killed, dies the death of Ignorance.[729] In another version of the *ḥadīth* the words are, "He is not of my *ummah* who rises against my *ummah*, kills people good and bad, and spares neither a Believer nor any of our clients (*dhimīs*). He is not of us, nor are we of him.[730]

Of these three people, the first revolts and rises against the ruler and secedes from the *jamā'ah*. The second fights for tribal reasons or to gain power, but not for any cause of God; he acts like the people of Qays and Yaman. The third robs people, loots travelers, kills Believers and *dhimīs* alike, and grabs their property like the Ḥarūrīyyah[731] who rose against the Imām, and against whom 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib declared war. It is about this group of Harurīyyah that the Prophet said, "You will scorn our *ṣalāh*, your fasting and your reading of the Qur'ān when you compare it with their *ṣalāh*, fasting and reading. But their reading of the Qur'ān will hardly go down their throats. They will dart out of Islam just as an arrow passes out through a prey. Kill them wherever you find them; you shall be rewarded for killing them on the Day of Judgment."[732]

The Prophet has asked us to obey every man of authority (*amīr*), even if he is a black slave. His words that have been recorded by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* are, "Listen to your *amīr* and obey him, even if he be a black slave with hair like raisins."[733] Abū Dharr says that his friend the Prophet) gave him the advice, "Listen to your *amīr* and obey his orders, even if he is black with broken ears."[734] In another version of the *ḥadīth* which Al-Bukhārī has noted, the last words are, "even if he be a black African with (hair on the) head like raisins."[735] Umm Al-Ḥaṣīn narrated that she heard the Prophet say in his famous address on the occasion of his last pilgrimage, "If a slave is put over you who rules according to the Book of God, listen to him and obey him."[736] In a different version of the *ḥadīth* the words are, "Even if he be black with a broken nose or ears cut off."[737] Both these *aḥādīth* have been reproduced by Muslim. He has also recorded the *ḥadīth* reported by 'Awf Ibn Mālik (raa) that the Prophet said, "The best of your leaders/rulers (*a'immah*) are those whom you love and who love you, for whom you pray and who pray for you; and the worst of your imāms are those whom you hate and who hate you, whom you curse and who curse you."[738] Hearing that someone said, "Messenger of God, should we not then fight them with the sword?" He said: "No, as long as they establish the *ṣalāh*. No, as long as they establish the *ṣalāh*. Beware! If you have a ruler whom you find doing something sinful, hate the sin he commits, but do not refuse to obey his orders."[739]

Muslim has noted a *ḥadīth* reported by 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar that the Prophet said, "The rulers who are just shall be seated on the pulpits of light on the right hand of (God) the Merciful and both His hands are right. They acted with justice among their people, among their families and in everything that was entrusted to them."[740] Muslim has also noted another *ḥadīth* which 'Ā'ishah (raa) has narrated from the Prophet. She says that she heard him praying, "Lord! Whoever is put in charge of any affair of my *ummah* and is hard on the people under him, be You also hard on him; and whoever is kind to them be You also kind to him."[741] The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* mention that 'Abdullah Ibn Zayd visited Ma'qal Ibn Yasār who was lying on his deathbed. Ma'qal said that he would relate to him what he had heard from the Prophet. He said, "If anyone whom God puts in charge of His people dies while he is not sincere and fair to them he shall not enter Paradise."[742] The words that occur in the *ḥadīth* which Muslim has recorded are slightly different; they say, "If anyone is put in charge of any affair of the Muslims, and does not do the best he can, and is not sincere to them, he will not be allowed to enter Paradise with them."[743]

The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have recorded the *ḥadīth* reported by Ibn 'Umar that the Prophet said, "Know that every one of you is a shepherd, and every one of you shall be asked about his sheep. The man is shepherd over the people in his family, and shall have to answer for them. The woman is shepherd over the house of her husband and shall have to answer for it. The servant is shepherd over the property of his master, and shall have to answer for it. Know that every one of you is a shepherd, and every one of you is responsible for his sheep"[744] The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have also reported by 'Alī that the Prophet dispatched a contingent and put a man over it. The man lit a fire and asked his men to enter it. Some got ready to enter the fire, but others refused saying, "We embraced Islam to avoid the fire!" When the incident was reported to the Prophet he said to those who were ready to enter the fire, "Had you entered it you would have remained in it till the Day of Judgment. Then he turned to the others and praised them. Finally he said, "Do not submit to a command that involves sinning against God, only to one that is right."[745]

[*Fatāwā* 35:8-15]

### (13.6) The limits of obedience.

*No one is infallible except the Messenger, and no one else can command absolute obedience. Obedience is only in things that are right.*

God has said, "You who believe! Obey God and obey the Messenger and those charged with authority among you. If you differ in anything among yourselves refer it to God and His Messenger" (4:59). Thus has God commanded us to obey the men in authority, be they religious scholars or rulers, as long as they do not differ among themselves. It follows that when they agree on something it must be complied with. But when they differ the matter must be referred to God and His Messenger. He has not allowed it to be referred to one who is a blind follower (*muqallid*) of any person, or to one who argues only on the basis of reason.

The Qur'ān says, "Mankind was one single nation; then God sent messengers with glad tidings and warnings, and with them sent the Book in truth, to judge between people in matters wherein they differed" (2:213). This means that differences should be resolved by referring them to the Book of God. He has reiterated this truth in another verse: "Whatever it be wherein you differ, the decision thereof is with God" (42:10), as well as in the verse, "a Book revealed unto you - so let your heart be oppressed no more by any difficulty on that account - that with it you may warn (the erring) and teach the Believers. Follow the revelation given unto you from your Lord, and follow not as friends or protectors other than Him" (7:2). In other words, it is necessary that we follow the Book and the wisdom that God has revealed, and eschew following any other person.

God has said, "All who obey God and the Messenger are in the company of those on whom is the grace of God, namely the prophets, the sincerely dedicated to truth, the martyrs, and the righteous" (4:69; and, "Those who obey God and His Messenger will be admitted to gardens with rivers flowing beneath, to abide therein (forever), and that will be the supreme achievement. But those who disobey God and His Messenger and transgress the limits set by Him will be admitted to a Fire to abide therein, and they shall have a humiliating punishment" (44:13-14). God has reiterated this idea at many places in His Book and made it perfectly clear that obedience to Him and His Messenger guarantees happiness and disobedience spells misery...

Our duty is to obey God, but there is no way to know what He wants us to do or to believe except through His messengers. So whoever says anything on His behalf and conveys His words or communicates His commands must be believed and obeyed in whatever he conveys or commands. If he does not, he can only be obeyed in some cases and not in others. One must obey the words of the scholars in whatever they enjoin, communicating the word of God or interpreting it or deriving from it; a commoner must submit to their verdict. Similarly, one must obey religious leaders (*mashā'ikh*) and secular rulers (*ru'asā'*) such as the imāms in *ṣalāh* or in *ḥajj*, commanders of armies in war, governors of states, and other officers, and follow the instructions and practices of the spiritual leaders and...

The point I am making is that if anybody takes someone as leader and believes that he deserves unqualified obedience, or gives him absolute obedience he is as much mistaken as the Imāmī Rawāfiḍ, who raise in every period someone to the status of an infallible imām and believe that he deserves unqualified obedience. One must know that no one else besides the Prophet is infallible, that no one other than he is to be obeyed in everything. Of the family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*) those whom they have called imām, one was a righteous caliph (*khalīfah rāshid*), who was to be obeyed just as other righteous caliphs before him. I mean 'Alī. Some of them were leading religious scholars (*a'immah fī al-'ilm wa al-dīn*), such as 'Alī Ibn Al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ja'far Al-Bāqir, and

Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣādiq; they deserved the same treatment as other leading religious scholars do. Others occupy a position lower than them.

Somewhat similar is the case of those who call for unqualified following of any Ṣūfī preceptor whom they are prone to exalt over all others, such as Shaykh 'Adīy,[746] Shaykh Aḥmad,[747] Shaykh 'Abdul-Qāḍīr,[748] Shaykh Ḥayāt,[749] or those who call people to follow a particular religious scholar (imām) in all that he has said, enjoined or forbidden without any qualification, such as the four *a'immah*. The same is almost true of those who call people to submit to kings, governors, judges and other authorities, and carry out all their orders without qualification or exception, though they do not believe in the infallibility of these authorities as do the extremists among the followers of Ṣūfī masters like Shaykh 'Adīy, Sa'd Al-Madīnī Ibn Ḥammawayh[750] and the like. These extremists attribute to their *mashā'ikh* something similar to what the Imāmīyyah attribute to the *a'immah* of Banū Hāshim. They believe them to be infallible, exalt them over prophets, even attribute to them a kind of divinity.

Many people who follow a leading scholar (imām) or *shaykh* feel and act like those who believe that people must follow their leaders, though they do not say so in so many words or hold it as a part of their belief. Their behavior conflicts with their belief like a sinner who runs after his desires. To be sure, they are better in a sense than those who believe that one has to follow their leader. The same is true of many people who follow one ruler/chief or the other. God has described their condition in these words, "They would say: Our Lord! we obeyed our chiefs and our great ones, and they misled us as to the (right) path" (33:67). They submit to their authority and carry out their command; however most of them do not hold it as a matter of faith, though some of them do.

To obey the Prophet, on the other hand, you are first required to know what his teachings are, and second, you have to be able to act upon them. When the knowledge of his teachings and the

power to act upon them wane, we have a period of religious decline. It is time then for a fresh missionary effort (*da'wah*) (in our *ummah*) or (in other communities) a new prophethood. Think over this point; it is very important. Philosophers, theologians, and Ṣūfīs who elevate analogy, reasoning or mystical experience into an absolute principle or who put them at par with prophethood are like those who raise up a particular person and submit to him without qualification. They must know that unqualified submission is for the Prophet only and for no one else.
[*Fatāwā* 19:67-71]

### (13.7) Lawful and unlawful following (*taqlīd*).

*The following (*taqlīd*) which God and His Messenger have forbidden is if one follows a person other than the Messenger in what he says in opposition to the Messenger. A scholar who exerts his mind, reasons out and arrives at the truth should not blindly follow the opinion of a person who says something different. But whether he may follow the opinion of someone while he has the power and competence to reason for himself, there are two different views. However, with regard to the person who cannot himself reason there is no difference that he may follow the one who can.*

In His Book, God has condemned those people who leave His messengers and follow the religion of their forefathers. This is the blind following which He and His messengers have forbidden. No one should follow any person other than the Messenger in things in which he differs from the Messenger. This is clearly forbidden, and there is absolutely no difference on this point among the Muslims. He cannot submit to anyone's view which involves defying the will of God. God has made obedience to the Messenger incumbent on everyone, the common man as well as the elite, at every time and place, openly and in secret, and in every situation.

This is part of our faith. God has made it clear on different occasions. For example, He has said, "No, by your Lord, they can have no real faith, unless they make you judge in all disputes between them, and find in their souls no resistance against your decisions but accept them with the fullest conviction" (4:65); "The answer of the Believers, when summoned to God and His Messenger, in order that he may judge between them, is none other than this: They say: 'We hear and obey'" (24:51); "It is not fitting for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by God and His Messenger, to have any option about their decision" (33:36); "Then let those beware who oppose the Messenger's command, lest some trial befall them, or a grievous penalty be inflicted on them" (26:63); and, "Say: If you do love God, follow me; God will love you" (3:31). Thus God has made it absolutely incumbent upon everyone to submit to the Messenger and follow Him; He has reiterated it at forty places in His Book. To obey the Messenger is to obey God; this is serving (*'ibādah*) God, the One without any partner; this is the religion of God, Islam.

Everyone whom God has asked us to obey, whether scholar, ruler, father, or husband, is because obedience to him is obedience to God. That is why if his commands conflict with the commands of God he must not be obeyed. if a father or a husband orders something permissible, he should be obeyed; similarly, if a ruler orders something not known to be forbidden, or if a scholar gives some instruction which one does not know goes against the will of God, one will not be disobeying God if one carries it out. But if one knows that the order of the ruler or the counsel of the scholar is against God's commands, compliance with such an order or counsel is definitely a sin against God.

This is also the reason why more than one person has mentioned that there is consensus on the point that no scholar should blindly follow another scholar if he can himself argue and find out the correct view consistent with the teachings of the Prophet. If he arrives at a view of his own he should not follow any other's view; there is no difference of opinion on this point. People have differed only with regard to the person who has the power to reason and whether he may follow anyone else's view. Ash-Shāfi'ī, Aḥmad and some others say that he should not, and Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥasan is reported to have said that he may, as is well known. Some people have also attributed this view to Aḥmad, but they are not aware, I am afraid, of Aḥmad's view. I have discussed it elsewhere in detail. On the other hand, for anyone who cannot argue himself, it is perfectly lawful to follow any scholar; this is the generally accepted view. To be sure, there are differences with regard to details about the qualifications of the people whose views are to be followed but we cannot go into them here.

The point I am making is that the following (*taqlīd*) which is forbidden by the texts and the consensus is the one which conflicts with the word of God or His Messenger irrespective of how great the person is whose view one is called upon to follow. God has said, "The Day that the wrongdoer will bite at his hands and say, 'Oh! Would that I had taken a (straight) path with the Messenger! Ah! Woe to me! Would that I had never taken such a one for a friend! He did lead me astray from the Message (of God) after it had come to me! Ah! The Evil One is but a traitor to man.' Then the Messenger will say, 'My Lord! Truly my people took this Qur'ān for just foolish nonsense'" (25:27-30).

He has also said:

> The Day that their faces will be turned upside down in the Fire, they will say: 'Woe to us! Would that we had obeyed God and obeyed the Messenger!' And they will say: 'Our Lord! We obeyed our chiefs and our great ones, and they misled us as to the (right) path. Our Lord! Give them double penalty and curse them with a very great curse!'" (33:66-8). Or, "Then will those who are followed clear themselves of those who follow (them). They will see the penalty, and all relations between them will be cut off. And those who followed will say, 'If only we had one more chance, we could clear ourselves of them, as they

> have cleared themselves of us.' Thus will God show them the fruits of their deeds as (nothing but) regrets. Nor will there be a way for them out of the Fire. You people! Eat of what is on earth, lawful and good; and do not follow the footsteps of the Evil One, for he is to you an avowed enemy. For he commands you what is evil and shameful, and that you should say of God that of which you have no knowledge. When it is said to them, 'Follow what God has revealed,' they say, 'No, we shall follow the way of our fathers.' What! Even though their fathers were devoid of wisdom and guidance! The parable of those who reject faith is as if one were to shout like a goatherd to things that listen to nothing but calls and cries. Deaf, dumb, and blind, they are devoid of wisdom" (2:166-71). This will be the attitude of the leaders towards their followers; they will clear themselves of them, in all matters in which God's will is defied. God has described this condition after He has declared, 'Your God is one God' (2:163).

Hence, the one and the only God is alone to be worshiped and obeyed, and those who obey others will deserve the same condemnation...

Furthermore, these people ascribe to God things of which they have no knowledge. When they are asked, "Follow what God has revealed," they say, "No, we will follow the ways of our fathers (2:170). They have no knowledge at all; they simply follow their forefathers; this is all that they have been trained in and taught... God has also mentioned those who conceal the clear statements and definite instructions which He has revealed in His Book. He has said, "Those who conceal God's revelation in the Book, and purchase for them a miserable profit, they swallow into themselves naught but Fire. God will not address them on the Day of Resurrection, nor purify them; grievous evil be their penalty" (2:174). This will be the lot of those who conceal the knowledge they receive from the Prophet; the former was the lot of those who turned away from that knowledge to something else. To this category also belong these who follow the view of any scholar knowing that it goes against the words of the Prophet. It makes no difference whether the person whose view he follows came from the earliest times or from a later period, whether he was a Companion, a Successor, any of the four renowned imāms of *fiqh,* or anyone else.

However, if he thinks that the view of the person, whom he follows agrees with the words of the Prophet, and arrives at that conclusion by pursuing the approved academic method, he is a *mujtahid*, and will be treated as such. But if he comes to it without procuring proper knowledge, he is to be censured.

If anyone claims that he knows of a consensus which goes against a particular word of the Prophet and has no other reason in its support, he is one of those who say that the people whose opinion is counted in consensus can oppose the Prophet on the basis of their reason, or that consensus can abrogate a text, as is held by some theologians and jurists. But if he thinks that the consensus refers to a text which unfortunately did not reach us and therefore can abrogate the first text, he is acting as a *mujtahid* even though he is not correct. It may be explained to him that his view is incorrect, and that he is like one who opposes a weak *ḥadīth* he thinks to be authentic in favor of one which is really authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*). It may also be shown to him that there is no consensus against the text, and that the *ummah* has not agreed on opposing any text except when it knows of another text which abrogates the first. Hence his claim that there is a contradiction between the text and the consensus is wrong. He will be told that this is not possible. The texts are known and well preserved, and the duty of the *ummah* is to pursue the texts and follow them. As for the claim that there may be a consensus against a text even if there is no text in support of the consensus, it is nearly impossible to ascertain whether all Muslim scholars have actually opposed the text.
[*Fatāwā* 19:260-7]

## (13.8) Calling people to God

*Calling people to God is calling them to believe in Him, submit to Him, worship Him the best one can, and obey Him in all that He has commanded and all that He has forbidden. It also means enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. To carry on this comprehensive call (*da'wah*) is an obligation on the ummah, a collective duty such that if a group of people perform it others will be exonerated from the responsibility. Everyone in the ummah must participate in this mission to the extent he can if others are not carrying it out. For the men that take up this mission it is necessary to have thorough understanding and deep insight in what they enjoin and what they forbid, and to bear patiently the sufferings they may have to encounter.*

The call to God is a call to believe in Him and in what His messengers have communicated, believe in what they have said, and to do what they have commanded, which involves testifying to the unity of God and the prophethood of Muḥammad, establishing *ṣalāh,* paying *zakāh,* fasting during Ramaḍān, and making pilgrimage to the House of God. It is a call to faith in God, His angels, His books, His messengers, in resurrection after death, and in the fact that everything good or bad is ordained by God. It is also a call to people to serve God as if they see Him. These are the three stages of the call: *islām*, *īmān*, and *iḥsān*. All of them are part of the religion (of Islam) as the Prophet said at the end of the famous *ḥadīth* which records Gabriel's questions about these things and his answers to them: "That was Gabriel, who came to you to teach you your religion (*dīn*)."[751]

*Dīn* is an infinitive which is sometimes ascribed to the subject, and sometimes to the object. It is said, "A *dāna* B," that is, A submitted to B and obeyed him. It is also said, "X *dāna* Y," that is, X subdued Y. Hence *al-'abd yadīnu Allah* means that man submits to God and obeys His commands. Here *dīn* is ascribed to man as its subject, on the grounds that he is the servant (of God) and under His command. But when it is ascribed to Allah it is because He is God and the Lord Who is to be obeyed. The Qur'ān says, "Fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and *dīn* is exclusively for Allah" (2:193).

Hence the call to God is a call to follow His religion (*dīn*), which is to worship Him and serve Him without associating anyone with Him. This is the message of all the messengers God has sent and all the books He has revealed. He has said, "He has established for you the same religion which He enjoined on Noah, which We have sent by inspiration to you, and which We enjoined on Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, namely that you should establish the religion and make no divisions therein" (42:13)... He has also said, "We assuredly sent among every people a messenger (with the command, 'Serve God and eschew evil.' Of them there were some whom God guided, and some on whom error became inevitably (established)" (16:36).

In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections we have a *ḥadīth* which Abū Hurayrah has reported, in which the Prophet said, "We prophets have a single religion. To be sure, prophets are sons of a common father by different mothers. Certainly the one who is closest to the son of Mary is I. There is no prophet between him and me."[752] Religion (of all the prophets) is therefore one; only their codes of law (*sharā'i'*) and their ways (*manāhij*) have been different. from each other. God has said, "To each among you We have prescribed a Law (*sharī'ah*) and an open Way (*minhāj*)" (5:51). Thus the prophets are one in the matters of religion, in the basic principles of faith and practice: faith in God, His messengers, and the Last Day, and practices such as those which have been mentioned in the *sūrahs* Al-An'ām (VI), Al-A'rāf (VII) and Banū Isrā'īl (XVII). In Sūrat Al-An'ām, for example, he says:

> Say: Come, I will rehearse what God has (really) prohibited you: join not anything as equal with me; be

> good to your parents; kill not your children on a plea of want - We provide sustenance for you and for them; come not nigh to shameful deeds, whether open or secret; take not life, which God has made sacred, except by way of justice and law. Thus does He command you that you may learn wisdom. And come not nigh to the orphan's property, except to improve it until he attains the age of full strength; give measure and weight with full justice. No burden do We place on any soul but that which it can bear. Whenever you speak, speak justly even if a near relative is concerned; and fulfill the covenant of God. Thus does He command you that you may remember. Verily this is My way leading straight. Follow it; follow not (other) paths; they will scatter you about from His (great) path. Thus does He command you that you may be righteous (6:151-3).

In Sūrat Banū Isrā'īl, God has said:

> Your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him, and that you be kind to your parents. Whether one or both of them attain old age in your life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, but address them in terms of honor, and out of kindness lower to them your wing of humility and say, 'My Lord! Bestow on them Your mercy even as they cherished me in childhood.' Your Lord knows best what is in your hearts. If you do deeds of righteousness, verily He is Most Forgiving to those who turn to Him again and again (in true penitence). And render to the kindred their due rights, as (also) to those in want, and to the wayfarer. But squander not (your wealth) in the manner of a spendthrift. Verily spendthrifts are brothers of evil ones; and the Evil One is to his Lord ungrateful. And even if you have to turn away from them in pursuit of the mercy from your Lord which you expect, speak to them a word of easy kindness. Make not your hand tied (like a niggard) to your neck, neither stretch it forth to its utmost reach so that you become blameworthy and destitute. Verily your Lord does provide sustenance in abundance for whom He pleases, as He provides in a just measure. For He does know and regard all His

> servants. Kill not your children for fear of want. We shall provide sustenance for them as well as for you. Verily the killing of them is a great sin. Nor come nigh to adultery; for it is a shameful (deed) and an evil opening the road (to other evils). Nor take life which God has made sacred except for just cause. And if anyone is slain wrongfully We have given his heir authority (to demand *qisas* or to forgive); but let him not exceed bounds in the matter of taking life, for he is helped (by the Law). Come not nigh to the orphan's property except to improve it, until he attains the age of full strength; and fulfill (every) engagement, for (every) engagement will be inquired into. Give full measure when you measure, and weigh with a balance that is straight. That is the most fitting and the most advantageous in the final determination. And pursue not that of which you have no knowledge, for every act of hearing or of seeing or of (feeling in) the heart will be asked about. Nor walk on the earth with insolence, for you cannot rend the earth asunder, nor reach the mountains in height. Of all such things the evil is hateful in the sight of your Lord. These are among the (precepts of) wisdom which your Lord has revealed to you. Take not with God another object of worship, lest you should be thrown into Hell, blameworthy and rejected (17:3-39).

In Sūrat Al-A'rāf He has said "Say: My Lord has commanded justice; and that you set your whole selves (to Him) at every time and place of prayer, and call upon Him, making your devotion as in His sight" (7:29); and, "Say: The things that my Lord has indeed forbidden are shameful deeds, whether open or secret, sins and trespasses against truth or reason, assigning of partners to God, for which He has given no authority, and saving things about God of which you have no knowledge" (7:33).

These things are part of the perennial religion, common to all the codes (*sharā'i'*) which God has sent down to man. They have been stated in the Makkan *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān which discuss basic principles every prophet has taught. They have been addressed to those who do not believe in any prophethood at all.

The Madinan *sūrahs*, on the other hand, address those who believe in one prophet or another, who have been given a book, but who only believe in one part of it and reject the other. Or they address the Believers who believe in all the books of God and in all His messengers. That is why He has given in these *sūrahs* the instructions which complete religious instructions about the *qiblah, ḥajj,* fasting, *i'tikāf, jihād,* marriage, divorce, and transactions which are based on justice such as trade and commerce, or on compassion like charity, or which are based on injustice such as usury and interest, and so on...

Hence the call to God involves also the call to all the commands He has issued enjoining or forbidding anything. It is a call to do all that is good and to eschew all that is evil. This was the call which the Prophet gave to the people; he commanded whatever God had commanded and forbade whatever He had forbidden. He enjoined everything good and prohibited everything evil. God has said, "My mercy extends to all things, and I will ordain it for those who do right and practice regular charity, and those who believe in Our signs - those who follow the Messenger, the unlettered Prophet, whom they find mentioned in their own (scriptures), in the Torah and the Gospel - for he commands them what is just and forbids them what is evil; he allows them as lawful what is good (and pure) and forbids them from what is bad (and impure); he releases them from their heavy burden and from the yokes that are upon them." (7:15)

The call to God should be in His name and according to His will; never should anyone say anything which is not authorized by Him. He has introduced the mission of the Prophet in these words: "Truly We have sent you as a witness, a bearer of glad tidings, and a warner, and as one who invites to God's (grace) by His leave, and as a lamp spreading light" (33:45-6). Condemning the pagans He has said, "What! Have they partners (in godhead) who have established for them some religion without the permission of God?" (42:21); or, "Say: See you what things God has sent down to you for sustenance? Yet you hold forbidden something thereof and (something) lawful. Say: Has God indeed permitted you, or do you invent (things) to attribute to God?" (10:59).

The point I am making here is further supported by the fact that God has sometimes asked the Prophet to call men to God Himself and sometimes to His way, for example, "Invite (all) to the way of the Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching" (16:125). He knows that when a. preacher calls someone to something he calls to the thing itself, or to the way that leads to it. That is why God has described the preaching sometimes as a call to Himself and sometimes as a call to His way. However, in either case He is the one who is to be worshiped (*al-ma'būd*) the goal and the end of preaching.

*'Ibādah* is the name for perfect love and absolute submission with humility. Thus, if you submit to someone humbly but hate him, you do not worship him; on the other hand, if you love him but do not submit to him in humility, you do not worship him. God deserves perfect love; in fact, He is the only One Who is to be loved for Himself, and everything else is to be loved for His sake. He alone commands profoundest reverence and absolute submission, and nothing else is to be revered or submitted to except for His sake. If you associate anyone else with Him in one respect or another, you neither love Him truly nor adore Him truly. Association means that your love is incomplete. God has said, "Yet there are men who take (for worship) others besides God, as equal (with God). They love them as they should love God. But those of faith are overflowing in their love for God" (2:165). In other words, they love God more than others love the deities they associate with God. Arrogance is opposed to humble submission to God; in fact, it is a great impediment to His love. Love at its perfection is submission and obedience; when you love someone you submit to him completely...

The person who calls people to God must call them to all of the things that are loved by God and His Messenger, whether obligatory or commendable, whether visible to the eyes or hidden in the heart. Similarly, things that are disliked by God and His Messenger, whether open or hidden, he must call people to eschew. The call to God will never be complete without calling people to do the things that He loves and eschew the things that He hates, whether they are beliefs or actions, or whether they are visible to the eyes or not. It applies to all that the Prophet has taught about the names and attributes of God, about resurrection and the life hereafter, or what he has said about created things such as the Throne, the Footstool, the angels, the prophets, the people who believed in them and those who opposed them. It also applies to what he has said about sincerely devoting oneself to God, loving Him and His Messenger more than anything else, trusting Him, hoping for His mercy, fearing His chastisement, carrying out His commands patiently, and other similar things, or what he has said about speaking truth, keeping trusts, fulfilling promises, kindness to kin, good behavior to neighbors, *jihād* in His way with the heart, tongue and hand.

The call to God is a duty on all those who believe in the Prophet and constitute his community. They should call people to God as the Prophet called them to God. They should enjoin upon them what he has enjoined, forbid them what he has forbidden, and expound to them the truths he has stated. Calling people (*da'wah*) to God implies enjoining (*amr*) upon them His commands, which amounts to charging them with doing all that is good and eschewing all that is bad. God has described this mission of the *ummah* at many places, for example, "You are the best of the peoples that have been evolved for mankind, you enjoin what is right, forbid what is wrong, and believe in God" ((3:110); and, "The Believers, men and women, are protectors one of another; they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil" (9:91).

This duty is a duty on the *ummah* as a whole, one which the *'ulamā'* call collective duty (*farḍ al-kifāyah*), which is deemed fulfilled if some from among the *ummah* perform it. To be sure, the whole *ummah* is responsible for the task, but if a group accomplishes it others will not be called to account for it. God has said, "Let there arise out of you a band of people to invite to all that is good, enjoin what is right, and forbid what is wrong. They are the ones to attain felicity" (3:104). The *ummah* as a whole stands in place of the Prophet so far as *da'wah* is concerned. That is why the consensus of the *ummah* is an evidence sure and certain of truth. The *ummah* does not unite on anything wrong; and in case it differs on some issue it has to refer it to God and the Messenger. Every member of the *ummah* is required to carry on *da'wah* the best he can if others do not engage in it. If someone else performs the task, his responsibility is finished; he will not have to answer for not doing it himself. But if no one else does it, and he has the power and ability to do it, he must do it. This is also the reason why a part of *da'wah* is incumbent on one person, and another on another person, and to the extent one or the other performs his task the *ummah* is exonerated from its responsibility. Some may preach the faith which is necessary, others may call to actions of the body which are obligatory, and a third group may teach virtues of the heart. Hence different groups will be responsible for different parts of the mission and will be engaged in them.

It is now clear that *da'wah* means enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong. The *da'ī* preaches, persuades and demands of people what he calls them to. In other words, he enjoins (*amr*), for to enjoin something is to call people to it, to invite them to it, and ask them to do it. Calling to God, therefore, is calling to His Way which He has at times specifically mentioned, and His way is nothing other than believing in whatever He has revealed, and obeying Him in whatever He has commanded.

We have said that both things are incumbent on every individual Muslim as a collective duty, not as a personal duty like the five daily prayers, but as *jihād*. The performance of a duty, whether it is *da'wah* or anything else, depends upon certain conditions. A *ḥadīth* says, "Whoever enjoins the right and forbids the wrong must have good knowledge and a clear understanding of what he enjoins and what he forbids; he must also be polite in expounding the things which he enjoins and which he forbids, and above all he has to be forbearing in enjoining and in forbidding."[753] You must understand the thing very well before you call to it, so that you can convince people with regard to what you enjoin or what you forbid. You should also know that politeness and leniency in this matter is the way to success. You have to be prepared to bear with patience the reactions of people that may be unpleasant. God has said, "Enjoin what is just and forbid what is unjust and bear with patience whatever betide you." (31:17). To His Prophet He has issued this advice: "Await in patience the command of your Lord, for verily you are in Our eyes" (52:39); "The Messengers before you were (also) rejected, but they bore with patience and constancy their rejection and their wrongs until Our aid reached them" (6:34)... On many occasions He has also mentioned patience and piety together. For example, "If you are constant and do right that is certainly a great thing" (3:120). Joseph also combined the two in the words he said to his brethren: "Behold! He that is righteous and patient, never will God suffer the reward to be lost of those who do right" (12:90). This is because piety entails obedience to God, of which enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong is a part, and patience entails patience in troubles and calamities, of which patiently bearing the painful reactions of the people one preaches to and the troubles they cause is one.

However, the person who enjoins and forbids should defend himself against the harm that may befall him as he would defend himself against any attack. If, for example, anyone tries to beat him or take his property and he has the power to stop him, he may do so; but if he is harmed and turns to God in that situation, he exercises patience and forbearance. The perfect example in this regard is the Prophet himself. 'Ā'ishah (raa) has this observation about him: "The Prophet," she said, "did not beat anyone with his

hand, whether a servant, a woman, an animal, or anything else, except when he was engaged in *jihād* for the cause of God. Nor did he take revenge on anybody for the harm he caused him. Only when someone indulged in things which God had forbidden would he get furious and would not rest until he had avenged him for the sake of God."[754] This shows that the Prophet never avenged any harm caused to his person, but he did so when God's injunctions were violated, and no one could stop him from doing that.
[*Fatāwā* 15:157-69]

## (13.9) Bidding the right and forbidding the wrong

*Bidding the right and forbidding the wrong is a collective duty like* jihād, *which is its completion. If no one fulfills this duty, everyone who is competent will be guilty to the extent he was capable, for it is incumbent upon everyone according to his ability. This is true of all duties. They produce more good than evil, for if the evil consequences of a thing outweighed its good consequences God would not make it obligatory. The duty of bidding the right and forbidding the wrong is sometimes performed by hand, sometimes by tongue, and sometimes only by the heart, and that is the weakest form of faith one can have. Those who are to take up this duty should have a very good understanding of the things they enjoin and the things they forbid, they should be polite and lenient in performing it, and they should be prepared to suffer patiently the harms that might be inflicted on them by the people to whom they preach.*

God has introduced His Prophet in these words: "He commands them what is just, and forbids them what is unjust, allows them as lawful what is good and prohibits them from what is bad" (9:157). This is the description of his mission. It is through him that God bids every good and forbids everything evil. The Prophet himself has described his mission in this way: "1 have been sent to perfect all the noble virtues."[755] In another *ḥadīth* reported in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections he has said, "I and other prophets form a house which was built by someone who completed the whole structure, but left just the place for a brick. Anyone who goes around the house is caught by its beauty, but wonders why one brick has not been placed. Know that I am that brick."[756] With him God completed His religion which commands all that is right and forbids all that is wrong, allows all that is good and pure, and prohibits all that is bad and foul...

God has introduced the *ummah* in a manner similar to how He introduced the Prophet. He has said, "You are the best of the peoples, evolved for mankind. You bid the right and forbid the wrong, and believe in God" (3:110); and, "The Believers, men and women, are protectors one of another; they enjoin what is just, and forbid what is evil." (9:71). Abū Hurayrah[757] put it in his own way when he said, "You are the best of the peoples for mankind. You bind them up in chains and lead them into Paradise." God has made it very clear that this *ummah* is the best *ummah* for mankind and their greatest benefactor because they tell them what is right and what is wrong for them, and ask them to act upon that. They also strive with all their power and resources to establish the rule of justice and virtue and do that for no purpose but to please their Lord. This is the best they can do for mankind...

When we say that the good should be enjoined and the evil should be forbidden, we do not mean that every individual in the world should be addressed. This was not the part of the duty of the Prophet; how could it be the duty of his followers! What is required is that conditions should be created that people receive the message. If they themselves do not try to know the message while those responsible to preach it have done their duty, it is the people who are guilty...

Furthermore, the duty to enjoin the right and forbid the wrong is not an individual duty, it is a collective duty, as the Qur'ān has said, and since *jihād* is the completion of that duty, it is also a collective duty. Hence, if those who have the power and ability to perform that duty fail to render it, every individual who has the ability will be guilty to the extent of his ability, for it is a duty on every person according to his or her ability. The Prophet said, "Whoever sees an evil should remove it with his hand. If he cannot do that he should speak against it; if he cannot do that, he should hate it in his heart, and that is the lowest degree of faith."[758]

So this duty is sometimes performed with the heart and sometimes with the tongue, and sometimes with the hands. As for the heart, it must render that duty in every situation, since it involves no harm at all. Hence, if anyone fails in that, too, he is not a Believer. The Prophet has said, "That is the lowest or the weakest degree of faith," or "Beyond that there is not a particle of faith there." Ibn Mas'ūd[759] was asked, "Who are the dead among the people who are living?" He answered, "Those who neither approve of the right nor condemn the wrong."

Two groups of people have gone wrong in this regard. One group abstains from enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong. They try to find justification for their action in the verse, "You who believe! Guard your own souls. If you follow (right) guidance, no hurt can come to you from those who stray" (5:08). In his time, Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddiq[760] found some people behaving in the same wrong manner. He addressed them and said, "You read this verse and interpret it in the wrong way. I have heard the Prophet saying, 'When people see wrong being done and do not try to remove it God is likely to inflict punishment on them all.'"[761] The second group wants to enjoin the right and forbid the wrong but they do not know how to do it, nor do they have the patience and forbearance required, or the understanding of what should be done and what should not, or what is feasible and what is not. Abū Tha'labah says that he asked the Prophet concerning this, and he said, "You should work together and enjoin the right and forbid the wrong, till you see people turning greedy, running after their desires, self-conceited, each defending his own whims, knowing nothing about the truth. At that time you should mind yourself, leave the people to themselves. You will be seeing days when to hold on to the right will be as difficult as to hold fire in the hand. Whoever does a right thing in those days shall have the reward of fifty people doing the same (in our days)."[762] This means that some people will be engaged in bidding the right and forbidding the wrong, believing all the while that they are serving God and obeying His Prophet but they will only be transgressing the limits He has set. A number of heretical sects like the Khawārij, the Mu'tazilah, the Rāfiḍah and others do a lot of things wrong while performing the duty of bidding the right and forbidding the wrong; they do more evil than good. That is why the Prophet has advised the Believers to bear patiently the injustices which their rulers commit, and refrain from fighting them so long as they establish the *ṣalāh*. His words are, "Give them their due, and ask God for what is your due."[763]

That is why one of the principles of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah is that one should adhere to the body of Muslims (*jamā'ah*) and refrain from fighting the rulers. Heretical sects such as the Mu'tazilah, on the other hand, believe that people should fight the rulers; they consider it one of their basic principles... I have discussed in detail elsewhere the issue of fighting against rulers. The guiding principle in this regard, as in other similar cases, is this: whenever there is a conflict between the good and the bad consequences or between the right and the wrong aspects of a course of action, one must choose the course which is the better of the two. Even though the right we enjoin or the wrong we forbid is only meant to secure some good or ward off some evil, we have to see what consequences follow otherwise. If the good one loses or the loss one incurs is greater, then such a course of action will not be desirable. In fact, if the evils of an action outweigh its good, it will be forbidden. However, both good and the evil consequences have to be measured by the standards of the Sharī'ah. The best policy in the matter is: Follow the texts, and do not go beyond them; when you do not have texts, exercise your mind, and take help from instructions in similar cases. It rarely happens that texts fail a person if he is aware of them and is versed in inferring from them.

Hence, if a person or a group of people faces a situation that has both aspects, good and evil, and are not able to isolate one from the other, and have either to accept them together or leave them together, they will not be asked to do the good alone or avoid the evil alone; they will have to study the case thoroughly. If the good outweighs the evil they will be required to do it, even though it involves some evil; they will not be asked to refrain from it, for that would involve the loss of greater good. To ask them to refrain from it would be blocking the way to God, obstructing the fulfillment of His will or the will of His Prophet, and undermining the realization of so much good. But if the evil outweighs the good they must refrain from it, even though it will mean the loss of some good, for to ask one to accomplish a good that involves greater evil is to ask him to sin against God and His Prophet. If the good and the evil balance each other one will not be asked to do either. This means that situations differ. One time it may be better to bid an action, another time to forbid it, and a third time to refrain from both, that is to say in case the good and the evil balance each other...

It was a situation of the last kind in which the Prophet abstained from doing anything with 'Abdullah Ibn Ubayy and other hypocrites who had a large number of supporters. Had he done anything to remove the evil they were causing he would have risked a greater good. Their peoples would have come out in their support and would have shouted that Muḥammad (pbuh) was killing his own friends and supporters. That was why when he addressed people at the occasion of the slander (against his wife 'Ā'ishah) he excused 'Abdullah Ibn Ubayy, and Sa'd Ibn Mu'ādh[761a] spoke to him the good words that he said, and Sa'd Ibn 'Ubaydah[761b] defended him even though Sa'd was a good Muslim.

The important thing here is that one's love for the good and hatred for the evil and one's willingness to do the former and eschew the latter should be subject to God's likes and dislikes, love and aversion, which He has expressed in His revelations, and that he should work for the good and against the evil as much as he can. God does not require from a soul more than it can do. He has said, "Fear God as much as you can" (64:16). As for love or hate, desire or aversion, it should be perfect, and deficiency in it will mean deficiency in fait; but as for action, it should be according to one's ability and power. If your love for the good or your hatred for the evil is perfect and you act as much as your powers allow, you will have the reward of a perfect worker.

Often the like or dislike, love or aversion of the people for a particular thing is determined by their natural love and aversion for the thing rather than by the love and aversion which God and His Prophet have for it. This may amount to self-indulgence, and if they proceed on that road they will only be pursuing their own desires. God has said, "And who is more astray than one who follows his own lusts, devoid of guidance from God?" (28:50). For lust in its essence is love of the self and aversion is only dependent upon it. Neither desire as such, which is the basis for love, nor aversion as such, which we have in ourselves, is something objectionable; people often do not have control over either. What may be objectionable is their translation into action. It is against them that God cautioned David when He said, "David! We did indeed make you a vicegerent on earth; so judge between men in truth (and justice) and never follow the lusts (of your heart) for they will mislead you from the Path of God" (38:26)...

Man's duty, therefore, is to see whether his love and aversion are subject to God's commands and the commands of His Prophet, and in the same measure as they would like. For it is these commands which constitute God's guidance, commands which He has revealed to His Prophet, and to which one should subject one's likes and dislikes, and never ever exceed... Hence, one must acquire knowledge of the good and the bad, must be able to distinguish between them, and must know what things have been commanded and what have been forbidden... One must also be polite and considerate in calling men to them, and mind what the Prophet has said: “Politeness only adds to the beauty of a thing you do, and rudeness only adds to its ugliness.[764] He has also said, “God is lenient and loves leniency in everything, and gives to the lenient what He does not give to the harsh.”[765]

One must also be patient and forgiving of the wrongs one suffers; you just cannot escape them. If you cannot forbear and forgive, you will do more harm than good. Luqmān taught that truth to his son when he said, “Enjoin what is just, and forbid what is wrong; and bear with patience whatever befalls you” (31:17). This is also the reason why God instructed His messengers, who were masters in this art to be patient and forgiving. To the Seal of the Prophets, for example, He has said, “Have patience with what they say, and leave them with noble (dignity)” (73:10), and “Patiently persevere, as did (all) messengers of inflexible purpose” (46:35).

To sum up: One must have knowledge and understanding, must be polite and lenient, and must be patient and persevering. Knowledge must be acquired before bidding the good and forbidding the evil, leniency must go along with it, and patience must follow it. All three must go together. This is stated in a tradition which has come down from the Elders, even believed to have emerged from the Prophet: “No one really bids the right and forbids the wrong except one who knows very well what he bids and what he forbids, who is polite and lenient in bidding as well as in forbidding, and who is forbearing and forgiving on both occasions.” Qāḍī Abū Ya‘lā has noted this tradition in his book, *Al-Mu‘tamad.*

[*Fatāwā* 28:121-37]

## (13.10) Jihād

*Whoever receives the message of Islam and refuses to accept it we are to fight, so that the obstruction (in the way of truth) is removed and the religion of God prevails. Similarly, if any group of Muslims refuses to comply with any ruling of the Islamic Sharī'ah which is definite, categorical and firmly established (*az-*ẓāhir*ah wa al-mutawātirah*) our duty is to fight them till they submit completely to God. The texts that describe the merits of* jihād *are too many to be counted. Scholars of Islam are agreed that* jihād *is better than* ḥajj *and* 'umrah, *and better than non--obligatory* ṣalāh *and fasting. The reason that* jihād *is so meritorious an act is that its benefits reach the doer as well as other people, in this life and the next, and because it comprehends all kinds of devotion, manifest and hidden, such as love, sincerity, trust, sacrifice of life and property, patience, renunciation, and remembering God, which are not comprehended by any other act.*

Whoever gets the message of the Prophet to believe and practice the religion of God which He has revealed to him, but does not respond to it, we are to fight him "till obstruction is removed and the religion of God prevails" (2:193). When God sent His Messenger and commanded him to call people to His religion, He did not allow him to fight or kill anybody for it or wage war against him, until he migrated to Madinah. At that time He allowed it to him and to the Muslim community saying, "To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because they are wronged; verily God has all the powers for their aid. They are those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right, (for no cause) except that they say, 'Our Lord is God.' Had not God checked one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques in which the name of God is commemorated in abundant measure. God will certainly aid those who aid (His) cause. For verily God is Full of Strength, Exalted in Might. They are those who if We establish them in the land, establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid the wrong. With God rests the end (and decision) of all affairs" (22:39-41).

Sometime later God made fighting incumbent on them in these words: "Fighting is prescribed for you, and you dislike it, for it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you, and that you love a thing which is bad for you. But God knows, and you know not" (2:216). In other Madinan *sūrahs* He underlined its imperative character, emphasized its importance, and condemned those who did not participate in it, dubbing them hypocrites and sick in the heart, for example, "Say (Prophet): If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your spouses, or your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, or the dwellings in which you delight, are dearer to you than God or His Messenger, or the striving in His cause, then wait until God brings about His decision; and God guides not the rebellious" (9:24). Or, "Only they are Believers who have believed in God and His Messenger, have never since doubted, but have striven with their belongings and their persons in the cause of God. Such are the sincere ones" (49:15). Or, "When a *sūrah* of basic and categorical meaning is revealed, and fighting is mentioned therein, you will see those in whose hearts is a disease looking at you with a look of one in a swoon at the approach of death. But more fitting for them were it to obey and say what is just, and when a matter is resolved upon, it were best for them if they were true to God. Then is it to be expected of you, if you were put in authority that you will do mischief in the land, and break your ties of kith and kin" (47:20-22). And so on and so on.

God has also applauded those who engage in *jihād* and he has honored them. In Sūrat Aṣ-Ṣaff, for example, He says, "You who believe! Shall I lead you to a bargain that will save you from a grievous penalty? That you believe in God and His Messenger, and that you strive (your utmost) in the cause of God, with your property and your persons. That would be best for you if you but knew. He will forgive you your sins, and admit you to gardens beneath which rivers flow, and to beautiful mansions in gardens of eternity; that is indeed the supreme achievement. And another (favor will He bestow) which you do love - help from God and speedy victory. So give the glad tidings to the Believers" (61:10-3). Or, "Do you make the giving of drink to pilgrims, or the maintenance of the Sacred Mosque equal (to the pious service of) those who believe in God and the Last Day, and strive with might and main in the cause of God. And God guides not those who do wrong. Those who believe and suffer exile and strive with might and main in God's cause, with their goods and their persons, have the highest rank in the sight of God. They are the people who will achieve (salvation). Their Lord gives them glad tidings of mercy from Himself, of His good pleasure, and of gardens for them, wherein are delights that endure. They will live therein forever. Verily in God's presence is a reward, the greatest (of all)" (9:19-22). Or, "If any from among you turn back from his faith, soon will God produce a people whom He will love as they will love Him, lowly with the Believers, mighty against the rejecters, fighting in the way of God and never afraid of the reproaches of such as find fault. That is the grace of God which He will bestow on whom He pleases, and God encompasses all, and He knows all things" (5:57)...

Verses and *aḥādīth* that speak of *jihād* and its merits are too many to be counted. This is the reason why *jihād* is the best of all the supererogatory works. Scholars are agreed that it is better than *ḥajj* and *'umrah,* and better than supererogatory *ṣalāh* and fasting, as you find in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. The Prophet, to quote a few *aḥādīth*, said, "The important thing is *islām*, (submission); its pillar is *ṣalāh* on which it stands, and *jihād* is its pinnacle."[763a] Or, "Paradise has an hundred stories, and the distance between one story and the next is like the distance between earth and sky. God has prepared it for those who carry on *jihād* for His sake."[766] This *ḥadīth* is recorded by Al-Bukhārī and Muslim. The former has also recorded the *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet has said, "One whose feet are covered with dust from traveling in the cause of God, God will not allow the Fire to touch them."[767] He has also said, "To spend one day and night in *jihād* for the cause of God is better than fasting one whole month and praying all its nights. If the *mujāhid* dies on *jihād* the acts that he used to perform (daily) will continue to be credited to his account. He will also be receiving his sustenance and will be secure from the guiles of Satan."[768] This *ḥadīth* has been recorded by Muslim. In the *Sunan* collections we have, "To spend a day in the way of God is better than a thousand days at home;"[769] and, "The Fire will not touch two eyes: one that weeps fearing God, and the other that wakes up guarding (a post) in a war for the cause of God."[770] This is recorded by At-Tirmidhī with the remark that it is fairly authentic (*ḥasan*). Aḥmad in his *Musnad* has noted the words of the Prophet: "To watch a post for a night (in war) for the sake of God is better than fasting one whole month and praying all its nights."[771] The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have recorded that a person once asked the Prophet if there was anything equal to *jihād* in the way of God. The Prophet said, "Is it possible that, from the time the *mujāhid* goes out on *jihād*, you fast without break and engage in *ṣalāh* without taking a rest? The man said, "One cannot." "That would be equal," the Prophet said, "to *jihād*."[772] The *Sunan* collections have these words of the Prophet: "Every community has its form of *siyāḥah* or pious traveling; the *siyāḥah* of' my community is *jihād* in the way of God."[773]

There are numerous *aḥādīth* on the merits of *jihād*. On no other subject will you find so many *aḥādīth* as on *jihād*. This is nothing to wonder about for the benefits of *jihād* are not limited to its doer; they reach others also, in this life as well as in the next. *Jihād* comprehends all kinds of devotion, manifest and hidden, such as love, sincerity, trust, sacrifice of life and property, patience, renunciation, remembering God, and many more which other works do not comprehend...

War has been instituted only in the form of *jihād*, for it seeks to put the entire life in control of God's religion and make His word prevail over all other words. That is why those who refrain from Islam expose themselves to war; this is completely agreed upon among the Muslims. However, those who are not belligerents and do not participate in war, such as women, children, hermits, old men, the blind, the chronically ill, and the like, shall not be killed, except when they participate in war with their words or actions... God has allowed the taking of lives only to the extent necessary for the well-being of people. He has said, "Insult and oppression are worse than slaughter" (2:191), that is to say, killing people is certainly evil, but the mischief that the unbelievers create is far worse. Those who do not create obstructions for the Muslims in practicing their religion, their evil is limited to themselves. That is why the jurists say that those who propagate heretical ideas opposed to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah shall have the punishment which ordinary men will not. A *ḥadīth* says, "The sin which is done in secret harms only the sinner, but that which is done in open and is not condemned harms also the general public."[774] This is the reason why the Sharī'ah has proscribed those who openly deny Islam (and fight), but not those who are caught from among them... However, war will be carried out against the People of the Book and the Zoroastrians till they either accept Islam or pay the *jizyah,* submitting (to the Islamic authority). As for others, jurists differ whether *jizyah* should be levied on them or not; the Arabs, however, are exempted by the majority.

If from among the Muslims any group defies any rules of the Sharī'ah which are categorical and well established (*az-ẓāhirah wa al-mutawātirah*) they are to be fought till the whole religion of God comes into force. Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddiq and with him all other Companions fought those who refused to pay *zakāh*. To be sure, some Companions did waver about it at first, but they soon agreed with Abū Bakr. 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb, for example, first argued with him: "How will you fight a Muslim? Has the Prophet not said that he has been commanded to fight people till they confess that God is one and Muḥammad is the Messenger, and that the moment they confess it they will save their lives and property from him except when it is required by the law and God alone will call them to account for their deeds?[775] Abū Bakr said that *zakāh* is one of those things which are required by the law. He further said, "By God if they refuse to pay even for the rope by which they tie their camels and which they used to pay for in *zakāh* at the time of the Prophet I will fight them for it." When 'Umar heard that he said, "God has made the mind of Abū Bakr very clear about war; I see that Abū Bakr is perfectly right."

There are many authentic *aḥādīth* which say that the Prophet commanded war against the Khawārij. The *Ṣaḥīḥayn,* for example, record that 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib heard the Prophet say, "At the end of times there will emerge a people young in age and weak of intellect. In talk they will surpass the best of mankind, but their faith will not go down deeper than their throats; they will shoot out of the religion just as an arrow passes through the animal it kills. Kill them whenever you find them; you shall be rewarded for it on the Day of Judgment." In the *ḥadīth* as Muslim has recorded it the words are, "A group of people will emerge from my community who will devote themselves to the Qur'ān. Your reading of the Qur'ān will not stand comparison to their reading, nor will your *ṣalāh* bear comparison with theirs. They will be reading the Qur'ān for their own benefit but it will go against them. It will hardly pass down their throat. They will move out of Islam just as an arrow passes out of the prey it kills. If the army that would attack them knew what reward is promised to them by their Prophet they would leave all other tasks." Abū Sa'īd, who has narrated this *ḥadīth,* adds the words, "They will fight the Muslims and leave the heathens. If I were to find them I would kill them just like the people of 'Ād."[776] This *ḥadīth* has been recorded by Muslim and Al-Bukhārī. In another version of the *ḥadīth*, which we have in Muslim, the words are, "My community will divide into two factions, and in between them a group will arise who will leave Islam. They will be killed by the faction which will be on the right"[777]

The people who have been referred in the *ḥadīth* are those whom *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* 'Alī killed when the people of Shām had separated from the people of 'Irāq. They are called Ḥarūrīyyah. The *ḥadīth* also makes it clear that both factions (the 'Irāqīs and the Shāmīs) are part of the *ummah*, that those ('Irāqīs) who were with 'Alī were on the right, and that 'Alī fought the renegades because they went out of Islam, left the party of the Muslims, and had no scruples in killing Muslims or plundering their property.

From the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, and the consensus of the *ummah*, it is clear that we may fight those who go out of the Islamic Sharī'ah, even though they may be confessing to the unity of God and the prophethood of Muḥammad. Jurists have differed only with regard to the *sunnah rātibah* (the supererogatory works which the Prophet did very regularly and recommended to us in strong words, without, however making them obligatory) such as offering two *rak'āt* before the dawn prayer, whether we should fight those who refuse to offer them. But as for duties which are obligatory or things which are clearly forbidden and known to all, everyone agrees that those who do not offer them should be fought till they submit, establish regular prayers, pay *zakāh,* fast during Ramaḍān, make *ḥajj*, and refrain from forbidden things like marrying two sisters, eating foul things, or taking the life and property of a Muslim, and so on.

War against such people is a duty and may be initiated after they are told why the Prophet has called for war against them. But if it is they who start a war against the Muslims, it becomes all the more necessary to fight them. I have already said that we should fight against those who do not submit to Islamic authority, commit mischief and rob the wayfarers. *Jihād* against the infidels who reject Islam and those (Muslims) who refuse to comply with any part of the Islamic Sharī'ah, like the refusers of *zakāh* or the Khawārij, is much more incumbent. We can go on the offensive in the war as well as repulse their attack. In the case of the former, *jihād* will be a collective duty (*farḍ al-kifāyah*), that is, if some people perform the task others will be exempted from the responsibility. The honor will, however, go to those who participate in *jihād*. God has said, "Not equal are those Believers who sit (at home) and receive no hurt, and those who strive and fight in the cause of God with their goods and their persons. God has granted a grade higher to those who strive and fight with their goods and persons than those who sit at home). Unto all (in faith) has God promised good. But those who strive and fight have distinction above these who sit (at home) with a special reward" (4:95).

If an enemy attacks the Muslim community, fighting them is a duty on all those who are directly attacked, as it is a duty of others that are not attacked to aid them. God has said, "If they seek aid in the religion, it is your duty to help them, except against a people with whom you have a treaty of mutual alliance" (8:72). The Prophet has also asked the Muslims to help a brother Muslim, whether or not they are part of a paid army. It is incumbent upon all Muslims according to their ability; they are to carry it out with their persons and properties, whether they are few or many, and whether they have to go on foot or take transportation. To give an example, at the Battle of the Ditch, when the enemy surrounded the Muslims, God did not allow anyone to take leave, though he had allowed people in the early years either to fight the enemy or to sit at home. This time He condemned those who asked for leave from the Prophet. He said, "A band of them ask for leave of the Prophet saying, 'Truly our houses are bare and exposed,' though they were not exposed. They intended nothing but to run away"

(33:13). This was a matter of defending the religion, honor, and life, a matter in which war was thrust upon the people. It was different from the war which is taken up voluntarily in order to promote the religion and make it prevail or to frighten the enemy with a view to forestalling his attack, as happened in the campaign of Tabūk.

As for the Muslims in Islamic lands who have no excuse, they should be compelled to observe the duties of Islam, the five basic ones as well as the others, such as returning deposits, fulfilling contracts, and so on. Hence, those who do not offer prayers (*ṣalāh*), whether men or women, should first be commanded to offer them. If they resist, they should be punished till they comply. There is perfect consensus on this point among the *ummah*. Many are of the view that first they will be asked to repent, and if they repent (and offer *ṣalāh*) they will be left alone, otherwise they will be killed. Should a rejecter (*kāfir*) or apostate (*murtadd*) or intransigent (*fāsiq*) be killed? Both views have been advanced in the school of Aḥmad. However, the majority of the Elders, it is said, are of the view that a persistent rejecter turns infidel, *kāfir*; this is if he admits that the act is an obligatory duty. But if he denies that it is at all an obligatory duty, he is definitely a *kāfir*; everyone agrees on this point. Guardians must ask their children to offer *ṣalāh* when they are seven, and spank them for it when they are ten. The Prophet has said, "Ask them to pray when they are seven, and spank them for it when they are ten, and put them in separate beds."[778] They should likewise be asked to do what is required for offering such as ablution and bath.
[*Fatāwā* 28:349-60]

### (13.11) The *ummah* will divide into various sects, of which only one will be saved.

*The* ummah *will divide into seventy-three sects, of which only one, the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah will be saved. They will* *constitute the great majority of the ummah. Other sects will have their own strange views, will indulge in heresies and follow vain desires. The common element between them will he their deviance from the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the consensus (of the* ummah*). However, they will be a small minority.*

Ibn Taymīyyah was asked about the Prophet's *ḥadīth*, "My *ummah* will divide into seventy-three sects..." In reply he wrote:

Praise be to God. This is an authentic and well-known (*ṣaḥīḥ wa mashhūr*) *ḥadīth*, recorded in *Sunan* and *Masānid* collections, such as the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, At-Tirmidhī, An-Nasā'ī and others. It runs like this: "The Jews divided into seventy-one sects (*firqah*), all of which will go to Hell except one; the Christians divided into seventy-two sects, all of which will go to Hell except one; this *ummah* will divide into seventy-three sects, all of which will go to Hell except one."[779] In another version of the *ḥadīth* the words are, "seventy-three *millah*, communities."[780] In a third version we also have this addition, "Some people asked the Prophet about the sect which will be saved. He said, "The one which will follow the way I and my companions follow today."[781] In a fourth version the last part is like this: "It will be the *jamā'ah*, and the hand of God will be on the *jamā'ah*."[782] This is the reason why the people that will be saved are called Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, the People of the Sunnah and the Community. They will constitute the overwhelming majority and the common masses.

The remaining sects will expound strange views and heresies and will indulge in vain desires. But even taken together they will neither be equal to nor nearing the number of the people who will be saved. In fact, they will be very few; the common element between them that will distinguish them will be their deviation from the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the Consensus, for had they adhered to the Sunnah and Consensus, they would have been part of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah.

As for the identification of these sects, a number of people have written on the subject and mentioned their names in their works on views and doctrines (*maqālāt*). But the point that a particular sect named by them is one of those seventy two deviant sects has to be proved. Let us recall that God has forbidden saying anything without knowledge, particularly in matters like this. He has said, "Say: The things that my Lord has instead forbidden are shameful deeds, whether open or secret, sins and trespasses against truth or reason, assigning of partners to God, for which he has given no authority, and saying things about God of which you have no knowledge" (7:33). And, "You people! Eat of what is on earth lawful and good; and do not follow the footsteps of the Evil One, for he is to you an avowed enemy. He commands you what is evil and shameful, and that you should say of God that of which you have no knowledge" (2:168). Pursue not that of which you have no knowledge" (17:306).

Many people talk about these sects merely on the basis of conjectures and predilections. The sect they belong to or the people that follow their leaders, they call Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, and those who oppose them, they call heretics. This is plainly wrong. For the people of Truth and Sunnah will have no leader other than the Prophet (pbuh), of whom God says, "He does not say anything of (his own) desire, (and) what he says is inspiration (*waḥī*) which is sent down to him- (53:3). What he says is to be believed and what he commands is to be obeyed. No one else enjoys this position, and no one else is to be followed in all that he says. The Prophet (pbuh) is the only exception...

It is clear from this that the people who will be saved are the people of *ḥadīth* and Sunnah, who do not have any leader other than the Prophet. Of all the people they are those who know his life and words best, who are aware which reports about him are authentic and which are not. Their scholars have a better knowledge and understanding of these things and follow them best. More than anyone else they believe in the Sunnah of the Prophet and act upon it, love those who love him, and oppose those who oppose him. They think over the issues in the light of the Qur'ān and the wisdom (*ḥikmah* of the Prophet) and do not raise anything to the status of a principle or advocate it unless it is derived from what has come down from the Prophet. In fact they base their ideas and doctrines on the Qur'ān and the wisdom that the Prophet has given. They refer the issues which people have debated, such as Divine attributes, fore-ordainment (*qadr*), reward and punishment, the interpretation of terms, the duty of enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong... to God and His Prophet. The words that are ambiguous and have been interpreted in different ways by different people, they interpret in the sense which is closest to the Qur'ān and Sunnah, and reject all the other senses which are opposed to them. They neither run after conjectures nor follow vain desires, for they believe that indulgence into conjecture is ignorance and pursuance of desires without any clear guidance from God is folly...

It may be noted, however, that those who follow one scholar or the other in matters regarding the principles of religion and theology (*kalām*) fall into different categories. Some oppose the Sunnah on major principles, others oppose the Sunnah on minor issues. Furthermore, it is possible that those who refute the views of others which are far more removed from the Sunnah than their own views may be right in what they say in refuting wrong doctrines or supporting the right ones, but they may have gone too far in their refutation and rejected some part of the truth and defended some untruth. That is to say, they may have a great heresy (*bid'ah*) through a lesser heresy and demolished a greater untruth through a lesser untruth. This is the condition of most of the theologians (*ahl al-kalām*) within the fold of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah.

If people like these do not severe their relations from the Muslim community (*jamā'at al-Muslimīn*) on the basis of the heresies they expound, taking them as the criterion for friendship or enmity, they are only guilty of saying something wrong. We hope that God will forgive mistakes like this and pardon those who commit them... But if they take as friends those who agree with them and as enemies those who disagree with them, and divide the Muslim community into their supporters and opponents, and call the latter *kāfir* or *fāsiq* even though they differ from them in matters in which opinions may differ, and think that they should fight them, they will then be called schismatic and secessionist.

That is why the first group of people who seceded from the Muslim community were the Khawārij; they went out of the boundaries of Islam... The *ḥadīth* which we have about them has come down to us through ten different channels all of which have been noted by Muslim in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Some of them have also been noted by Al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The Companions of the Prophet fought them under the command of *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and were one with regard to them... When they seceded from the Muslim community and regarded its members as *kāfir* and justified taking up the sword against them, the Prophet's word about them proved true. He said, "You will look down upon your *ṣalāh* in comparison to their *ṣalāh,* your fasting in comparison to their fasting, and you reading the Qur'ān in comparison to their reading. But they will read the Qur'ān and their reading will not go down their throat. They will move out of Islam as an arrow moves out of the prey it kills. Kill them whenever you get them, you will be rewarded for killing them on the Day of judgment."[783]

As for identifying those sects condemned to Hell, the first man who discussed the issue was Yūsuf Ibn Aṣbāt,[784] then 'Abdullah Ibn Al-Mubārak.[809] Both are outstanding scholars and imāms. They have said that all heresies have proceeded from four sects: Rawāfiḍ, Khawārij, Qadarīyyah, and Murji'ah. "What about the Jahmīyyah?" Ibn Al-Mubārak was asked. He said, "They are not part of the *ummah*." He used to say, "We do not quote the words of the Jews and the Christians, nor do we quote the words of the

Jahmīyyah." A number of scholars from the school of Aḥmad agree with this assessment. They say that the Jahmīyyah are infidel; they cannot, therefore, be included in the seventy-two sects, just as the hypocrites who have no faith in their hearts, who only pay lip service to Islam and are nothing but *zindīqs*, are not included in them. Other Ḥanbalī scholars, however, include them in the list; consequently they count the sources of heresy to be five.

The reason for this difference lies in the answer that these two group give to the question whether the people expounding heretical ideas (*ahl al-bid'ah*) may be excommunicated as *kāfirūn*. Those who exclude the Jahmīyyah from the list of seventy-two sects do excommunicate the expounders of heresies, for everyone who comes out with a heresy cannot be excommunicated. They rather categorize them with the people that deserve punishment in *'alā* (*ahl al-wa'īd*) like the intransigent (*fussāq*) and the sinners (*'uṣāt*). The words of the Prophet that "they will go to Hell," they point out, should be understood in the same sense in which it is said about other sinners, such as those who misappropriate the property of orphans. God has said, "Those who unjustly eat the property of orphans, eat up a fire into their own bodies" (4:10). Those, on the other hand, who include the Jahmīyyah in the list are of two kinds, those who call no one *kāfir* and those who call all of them *kāfir*. The latter group is comprised of some scholars of later periods from among the followers of the *a'immah* or the theologians.

However, in case of the Murji'ah and the Shi'ah Mufaḍḍilah (i.e. those who simply assert that 'Alī was superior to the other three righteous caliphs) and others, the Elders and the *a'immah* are one that they cannot be called *kāfir*. Aḥmad's statements with regard to them are quite clear that they cannot be called *kāfir*. However, there are within his school scholars who have indiscriminately dubbed all heretical sects including these as *kāfir*, some have also said that they are condemned to Hell forever. This is wrong, and certainly opposed to the principles of Aḥmad as well as the Sharī'ah.

Those who do not excommunicate any heretical sect do so because they put the heretics (*ahl al-bid'ah*) with the sinners. They say that just as the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah do not call anyone *kāfir* because of his sin, they would not like to call anyone *kāfir* on account of his heresy (*bid'ah*)

The Elders and the *a'immah* are reported to have excommunicated only the Jahmīyyah, who deny God's attributes, who say that God neither speaks nor sees, that He is not separate from the world, that He has no knowledge, no power, no hearing, no sight and no life, that the Qur'ān is a created object, that the people of Paradise like the people of Hell will not see God, and so on. With regard to the Khawārij and the Rawāfiḍ there is no clear word from Aḥmad and others that they are *kāfir*. As for the Qadarīyyah, who deny God's fore-knowledge of (human actions) as well as their fore-ordainment and writing, they have called them *kāfir*; however, with regard to those who affirm God's fore-knowledge but not His creation of human actions, they have abstained from this verdict.

I will state here two principles which, I hope, will clarify the issue. First, of those who offer *ṣalāh* no one would be *kāfir* unless he is a hypocrite, for since the time Muḥammad (pbuh) was sent as a messenger, given the Qur'ān, and compelled to migrate to Madinah, people were divided into three groups, those who believed in him, those who rejected him and did so openly, and those who were hypocrites and concealed their rejection of him. When this is the case we may have among the heretical sects *(ahl al-bid'ah)* those who are hypocrites and enemies of Islam (*zindīq*); they are *kāfir*. Such people are mostly found among the Rawāfiḍ and the Jahmīyyah. Their leaders were hypocrites and *zindīqs,* just as the man who invented *rafḍ* was a hypocrite. The school of the Jahmīyyah, too, was raised on the basis of hypocrisy and *zandaqah*. This is the reason why *zindīq*s who come from the Karmathian esoterics and pose as philosophers incline towards the Rawāfiḍ and Jahmīyyah with whom they have great affinity.

Among the heretical sects we may also have people who have faith in their heart but are guilty of ignorance, wrongdoing, and mistakes with regard to the Sunnah. Such people are neither *kāfir* nor hypocrites. They may be doing things that render them transgressors (*fāsiq*) and sinners, (*'āṣī*). Some of them may be doing so by mistake, erroneously interpreting the texts; such people will hopefully be forgiven. Some may also have faith and piety to a degree which earns for them a kind of God's love and support (*walāyah*) commensurate with their faith and piety. This is the first principle.

The second principle is that the doctrine that one expounds may be in itself a faithlessness. For example, one may deny that *ṣalāh, zakāh,* fasting or *ḥajj* is obligatory, or assert that adultery, drinking wine, gambling or marrying within the prohibited circle is lawful. However, it is possible that the expounder of these doctrines may not have knowledge about them or may not have gotten the words of the Prophet regarding them. Such a person will not be called *kāfir*. This may happen with a person who has embraced Islam new, or who is born and brought up in a place that Islam has not reached. He cannot, therefore, be called *kāfir* on the grounds that he denies something revealed to the Prophet, for he does not know that it was revealed to him.

The doctrines of the Jahmīyyah belong to this category, because they negate the attributes with which God is qualified and which He has revealed to the Prophet. There are three reasons why they have been condemned so strongly. First, the texts which contradict their doctrines are in abundance in the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and the Consensus, and are well known, and they just reject them by misinterpreting them. Second, their doctrines amount to negation of the Creator; however, it is possible that some of them may not have realized that their doctrines negate the Creator. Just as the basis of faith is belief in God, the basis of unfaith (*kufr*) is the denial of God. Third, they contradict truths which are agreed upon in all religions and testified to by human nature.

In spite of this, many Muslims are not able to see the real import of their doctrines; some even think that the truth is with them since they put forth their objections quite forcefully. These Muslims do have faith in God and in His Messenger and sincerely believe in them in their hearts, but the argument which these heretics advance confuse them as they confuse themselves. Certainly these Muslims are not *kāfir* at all; some of them may be transgressors and wrongdoers; some may be mistaken and God may hopefully forgive them; and some may even have, along with their erroneous ideas, the faith and piety which earns them God's support, and love (*walāyah*) commensurate with their faith and piety.
[*Fatāwā* 3:345-55]

### (13.12) People of *bid'ah* are not to be excommunicated

*Those who excommunicate the exponents of heresy and fancy (*ahl al-bid'ah wa al-ahwā'*), like the Shi'ah, the Mu'tazilah and others, go against the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, the Consensus of the Companions and the Successors.*

The proof that the Companions did not declare the Khawārij *kāfir* is that they offered *ṣalāh* behind them. 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar and other Companions, for example, offered *ṣalāh* behind Najdah Al-Ḥarūrī.[785] They discussed with them various issues, gave them their opinions on religious matters put to them, and addressed them as a Muslim addresses another Muslim. 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbās, for example, would answer the questions which Najdah Al-Ḥarūrī sent to him. Al-Bukhārī has recorded the *ḥadīth* which Najdah has related. Similarly, Nāfi' Ibn Al-Azraq[786] answered many of his questions, and used to argue with him on different issues quoting from the Qur'ān just as he did with any other Muslim. This was the practice of Muslims throughout the ages; they did not consider them apostates like those against whom Abū Bakr declared war. They did this even though the Prophet had commanded to fight them, as is reported in authentic *aḥādīth*. The *ḥadīth* that they are the worst people under the sky to be killed and that the men whom they kill are the best men, which Abū Umāmah has reported and At-Tirmidhī has recorded,[787] only means that they are more harmful to the Muslims than others. And it is true that they have done greater harm to the Muslims than the Jews and the Christians. They were zealous to kill any Muslim who did not agree with them, since they believed that it was quite lawful for them to take his life and property or kill his children, for he was a *kāfir* in their view. They considered it to be an act of devotion, as they were immersed in ignorance and heresy. But in spite of that the Companions or their righteous Successors did not declare them *kāfir* or apostate (*murtadd*), nor did they cause them any wrong in word or deed. They feared God with regard to them and were never unfair to them.

This was their practice with all the other exponents of *bid'ah,* the Shi'ah, the Mu'tazilah, and others. Hence, if anyone declares *kāfir* any of the seventy-two sects, he goes against the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the Consensus of the Companions and their righteous Successors. It may also be noted that the *ḥadīth* which speaks of seventy-two sects does not occur in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Ibn Ḥazm and others consider it to be a weak *ḥadīth*, others rate it as *ḥasan,* still others like Al-Ḥākim rate it as *ṣaḥīḥ,* though the compilers of the *Sunan* collections mention more than one channel through which it has been transmitted. Furthermore, the words of the Prophet, "seventy-two of them will go to Hell and only one will be saved" are not stronger than many words of God such as "Those who unjustly eat up the property of the orphans eat up a fire into their own bodies, they will soon be entering a blazing Fire" (4:10); or,

"If any do that in rancor and injustice soon shall We cast them into the Fire, and easy it is for God" (4:30). There are many such verses that threaten with Fire those who commit evil deeds, but they do not do so with regard to any particular person, for it is possible that he may repent or that his good deeds may outweigh his evil deeds, or that God may wash out his sin by subjecting him to one or another tribulation.
[*Minhāj as-Sunnah* 3:62]

### (13.10) *Ṣalāh* may be offered behind an proponent of *bid'ah* when no one else is available.

*One of the principles of the Ahl as-Sunnah is that* ṣalāh *may be offered behind any Muslim, pious or wicked. The Friday prayer and the* 'īd *prayers may also be offered behind a heretic if no one else is available. Again, no Muslim should be denounced as* kāfir *on account of any sin he or she may commit or any mistake he or she may make in matters which the ummah has debated.*

One of the principles of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah is that they offer the Friday prayer, the *'īd* prayers, and the regular daily prayers, and never suspend them as do the proponents of *bid'ah* like the Rawāfiḍ and others. If the conduct of the imām is not known or his *bid'ah* or wickedness is not open, the Friday prayer and all daily prayers in assembly may be offered behind him. All the four imāms of the Muslims as well as others are agreed on this point. None of them has ever said that *ṣalāh* is not valid except behind an imām whose private life is known. In fact, Muslims have been praying behind persons whose lives have not been known.

However, if *ṣalāh* is offered behind a person who is known to be guilty of *bid'ah* or an open sin (*fājir*) while an alternative imām is available, many scholars say that the *ṣalāh* of those who pray behind him will still be valid. This is the view of Ash-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah, and this is also one of the two views ascribed to Mālik and Aḥmad. However, when there is no other alternative available and prayer has to be offered behind a heretic or a sinner (*fājir*), as, for example when you do not get anyone other than a heretic or a sinner to lead the Friday prayer, and there is no other place where it is conducted, then you must offer the Friday prayer behind that heretic or sinner. This is the view of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah in general. Abū Ḥanīfah, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbāl and all other imāms of the Ahl as-Sunnah are agreed on this.

The Companions used to offer prayers behind those whose sins they were aware of. For example, 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd and other Companions prayed behind Al-Walīd Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Abī Mu'īṭ,[788] who used to drink, and who once, while leading the *Fajr* prayer said four *rak'āt,* for which 'Uthmān Ibn 'Affān punished him with lashes. 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar and other Companions prayed behind Ḥajjāj Ibn Yūsuf;[789] similarly, many Companions and Successors prayed behind Ibn Abī 'Ubayd,[790] who was charged with blasphemous views (*ilḥād*) and of preaching them.

No Muslim should be excommunicated on grounds of any sin or mistake in controversial issues which he commits. God has said, "The Messenger believes in what has been revealed to him from his Lord, as do the men of faith. Each one (of them) believes in God, His angels, His books and His messengers. (They say): 'We make no discrimination between one and another of His messengers.' They say: 'We hear and We obey. Your forgiveness, Lord (we seek), and to You is the end of our journey'" (2:285). A *ḥadīth* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections says that in response to this prayer God forgives the mistakes of the faithful.[791]

The Prophet commanded fighting the Khawārij as they were renegades. *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* 'Alī, one of the four rightly-guided caliphs, fought against them, and all the *a'immah* of the religion from among the Companions, the Successors and those that followed them were agreed upon fighting them, even then neither 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib nor Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ[792] nor any other Companion declared them *kāfir*. They waged war against them, but they treated them as Muslims. 'Alī did not start war against them until they had shed the blood of Muslims and plundered their properties. He fought them only to save the Muslims from their atrocities and not because they were *kāfir*. This is why he did not take their women captive or their properties as spoils. These were the people whom the Scripture and the consensus have declared wrong and mistaken, and whom God and His Messenger have commanded to fight. Even then they were not pronounced *kāfir*. How then can those be pronounced *kāfir* who could not see the truth on issues in which people more learned than they went wrong! How would anyone of these groups be justified in calling the others *kāfir*, or killing them or confiscating their property, even if they were guilty of a real *bid'ah*! How could it be when those who pronounce others to be *kāfir* are also committing *bid'ah*, which is even worse than the *bid'ah* of others! The fact is that all of them are equally ignorant of the truth in the matters they debate.

The fundamental principle is that the life, property and honor of a Muslim are inviolable and cannot be taken by anyone except by the leave of God and His Messenger. In his farewell address on the occasion of *ḥajj* the Prophet said, "Your blood, your property, your honor, everything is sacred just as this day of yours, this city of yours and this month of yours are sacred."[793] He pronounced, "The whole of a Muslim is inviolable for another Muslim: his blood, his property, and his honor."[794] He declared, "Whoever prays like us, faces our *qiblah* and eats of the animals we slaughter, is a Muslim and is under the protection of God and His Messenger."[795] He warned, "When two Muslims take out swords against each other, both the killer and the killed go to Hell." People asked him, "This is true of the killer, but why of the one who is killed, Messenger of God?" He said, "He was trying to kill his companion."[796] He also issued these warnings: "After me don't turn *kāfir*, one killing the other;"[797] and, "When one Muslim calls a brother Muslim *kāfir*, one of the two is *kāfir*."[798] All these *aḥādīth* have been recorded in collections.

But when a Muslim fights a Muslim or calls him *kāfir* in the light of his interpretation of a text, he will not be *kāfir*. We know that when 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb said with regard to Ḥāṭib Ibn Al-Balta'ah, "Messenger of God, let me kill this hypocrite," the Prophet said, "He participated in the battle of Badr. You don't know if God has looked at the people of Badr and said: 'Do whatever you like; I have forgiven you.'"[799] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections. It has also been reported in them that Usayd Ibn Khuḍayr,[800] said to Sa'd Ibn 'Ubādah,[801] "You are a hypocrite, you are defending hypotcrites!" Then there was a quarrel between them and the Prophet had to intervene and make peace between them. All of them had participated in the battle of Badr, but one called the other a hypocrite. However, the Prophet pronounced neither one nor the other *kāfir*; on the contrary, he gave both of them the glad tidings of Paradise.[802] We also have in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn* that 'Usāmah Ibn Zayd[803] killed a man after he had confessed that there was no god except Allah. When the Prophet came to know of it he was shocked. He asked, "'Usāmah, did you kill him after he had said 'There is no god except Allah'?" and repeated the words time and again, till 'Usāmah cried out, "I wish I had embraced Islam only today."[804] But in spite of that the Prophet did not prescribe vengeance, or order any ransom, or any expiation, because 'Usāmah only erred in his judgment. He killed him because he thought he had made the confession only to save himself from his sword.

The Elders fought each other at the battles of the Camel, Ṣiffīn and other occasions. They all were Muslims and men of faith, as God has said, "If two parties from among the Believers fall into a quarrel, make peace between them. But if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, fight against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of God. If it complies make peace between them with justice and be fair, for God loves those who are fair (and just)" (49:9). Thus God has made it very clear that in spite of the fact that they fought each other and wronged each other, they were brother Muslims. He has further asked them to restore peace and amity between themselves and to live together with justice. This is why the Elders made peace among themselves and helped each other even if they had fought among themselves earlier. They did not treat each other like enemies as they did the infidels. They accepted the testimony of one for another, learned knowledge from one another, married among themselves, inherited from one another, and treated one another as Muslims even though they had fought and cursed each other earlier.

In the *Ṣaḥīḥ* collections we have a *ḥadīth* that Prophet prayed to his Lord not to destroy his *ummah* through a widespread famine, and God granted that; then he prayed to Him not to place over them an enemy from another people, and He granted that, to; but when he prayed to Him not to punish them at the hands of their own men, He did not grant that.[805] Thus he told the *ummah* that God will not put over them enemies from other nations to suppress them, but they will themselves be killing and suppressing each other. The *Ṣaḥīḥayn* have also the *ḥadīth* that at the revelation of the words, "Say: He has power to send calamities on you from above," as well as the words, "from under your feet," the Prophet sought protection in God. But at the last part of the verse, "or to cover you with confusion in party strife, giving you a taste of mutual vengeance, each from the other" (6:65), the Prophet said, "These two are lighter (punishments)."[806]

This is true in spite of the fact that God has commanded maintaining unity and solidarity and has forbidden indulgence in innovations and schisms. "Those who divide their religion," He has said, "and break up into sects, you have no part in them in the least" (6:159). And the Prophet said, "You must stick to the community (*jamā'ah*) for God's hand is on the community."[807] And, Satan is close to one, but away from two."[808] "Satan is to a single person as a wolf is to lambs, and you see that the wolf readily pounces on a solitary lamb removed from the flock."[809]

So whenever a Muslim passes through a city of the Muslims he should offer with them all the daily prayers, as well as the congregational prayer on Fridays, meet them like friends, not like enemies even if he finds some of them mistaken. If possible he should show them the right path and call them to truth. If they do not listen to him he will not be held responsible, for God charges a soul only with what he can do. Let him put on them, if he can, the best among them to lead their prayers, and let him check the spread of *bid'ah* and shameful practices among them. But if that is not possible let him offer *ṣalāh* behind one who is more learned in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah and more obedient to God and His Messenger. The Prophet said, "From among the people the one should lead the *ṣalāh* who knows the Book of God most; if they are equal in it, then the one who knows the Sunnah most; if they are equal in it, too, then the one who has migrated first; and if they are equal in that also, then the one who is older than others."[810] However, if one thinks that one would do a better service if one shunned those who are committing *bid'ah* or evil one may do so. The Prophet dissociated himself from those three men who stayed behind (at the time of the campaign of Tabūk) till God turned to them with His mercy. However, if someone else is made imām of whom one does not approve, and if one does not expect greater good by abstaining from the Friday prayer or the daily prayers in assembly one will only be doing something rash and silly if one abstains, and will be countering one *bid'ah* through another *bid'ah*..

[*Majmū'at ar-Rasā'il wa al-Masā'il* 5: 198-202]

## (13.14) Fighting Muslims who openly flout an established rule of Islam.

*Muslims are fully agreed that they should fight against those people from among themselves who openly flout an established and well-known rule of Islam. They differ, however, in details. Some take it as a war against mischief-makers, nevertheless considering them to be* ʻadū, *for they think that they have only committed an error in judgment in matters of practical details. Others consider them to be* fāsiq. *The first view is the view of the majority of Muslims.*

Muslims are agreed that it is their duty to fight every group that openly flouts an established and well-known rule of Islam, even if they make both confessions (that God is one and that Muḥammad is His Messenger). If any group makes these confessions but refuses, for example, to offer the five daily prayers, they should fight them till they offer *ṣalāh*. Similarly, they should fight those who refuse to pay *zakāh* till they pay it, or those who refuse to fast in Ramaḍān or make *ḥajj* to the House of the Lord. They should also fight those who do not recognize that adultery, gambling, drinking wine, and other shameful acts are prohibited, or who refuse to judge cases against life, property, honor and sex, according to the rules of the Sharīʻah laid down in the Qur'ān and Sunnah, or who are not prepared to enjoin the good and forbid the evil, or fight against the unbelievers till they surrender and pay *jizyah* and keep low. Similarly, they should fight those who preach heresies (*bidʻah*) in opposition to the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, and the traditions of the Elders and the *a'immah* of the *ummah*, such as deliberate misinterpretation of God's names and words, falsification of His names and attributes, denial of His fore-ordainment, rejection of the agreed-upon practices of the Muslims in the age of the rightly guided caliphs, finding fault with the first Elders, the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* and those who came after them and correctly followed them, fighting Muslims till they submit to them against the law of Islam, and so on.

God has said, "Fight them until there is no more disturbance and oppression, and there is complete and unqualified submission to God" (8:39). Hence, if they submit to God in some part of life and submit to others in other parts they should be fought till they submit to God exclusively. God has also said, "You who believe! Fear God, and give up what remains of your demand for interest, if you are indeed Believers. If you do it not, take notice of war from God and His Messenger" (2:279). This verse, as revealed in the case of the people of Ta'if who had embraced Islam, offered prayers and fasted Ramaḍān, but had not abstained from taking interest. So God sent down this verse and commanded them to relinquish what remained of their demand for interest, warning them that if they did not comply God and the Prophet would wage war against them...

Interest was the last thing to be prohibited by the Qur'ān. It is money which is taken with the consent of the parties. If those who do not abstain from interest are served notice of war by God and His Messenger, you may think of those who do not abstain from other prohibited things which were prohibited earlier and in more emphatic terms...

Scholars are divided in their opinion with regard to war against the *ahl al-qiblah* (i.e., those who offer *ṣalāh* with their faces towards the Ka'bah). One section considers the battles of Ḥarūrā', the Camel, and Ṣiffīn to be wars fought against the rebels (*ahl al-baghī*). Abū Bakr's war against the refusers of *zakāh* as well as all other wars against the *ahl al-qiblah,* they put in the same category. This is the view of the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah and Ash-Shafi'ī, and of various scholars in the school of Aḥmad and others. All are agreed that the Companions are not *fāsiq;* on the contrary they are *'adū,* that is, their testimonies are to be trusted. In the same way they say that the *ahl al-baghī* are *'adūl,* even though they are to be fought; they are erring only in their judgment as do the *mujtahids* on issues regarding practical details.

Another section of scholars, like Ibn 'Aqīl and others, have a different view. They say that the *ahl al-baghī* are *fāsiq*, for they had before them the rebels (*bughāt*) of their times whom they found to be *fāsiq*. To be sure, they do not include the Companions in this category. It is only some heretics like the Mu'tazilah who consider some of the Companions to be *fāsiq*, as do the Khawārij and the Rawāfiḍ. No imām or *faqīh* of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah holds this view. They do not say that their property is inviolable as before, that the part of it which is not destroyed should be returned to its owner, but the one which is destroyed during the war should not be compensated. The majority of scholars believe that neither they nor others should be compensated. The words of Az-Zuhrī[811] are, "Wars occurred when the Companions of the Prophet were still present in great numbers. They agreed that the life and property which is destroyed as a result of any (wrong) interpretation of the Qur'ān is void."

However, they have differed on the issue whether those who are taken captive from among them can be killed or those who flee from the battleground can be pursued, or those who are wounded can be attacked when they return to their supporters. Abū Ḥanīfah allows it, but Ash-Shāfi'ī forbids it. The second view is the one which is commonly held by the Ḥanbalī scholars. Some of them, however, say that those who flee from the battle in its early hours may be pursued but if they do not have supporters will not be killed when caught, and not attacked when found wounded. This is what Sa'īd and others have narrated from Marwān Ibn Al-Ḥakam.[812] He said that in the battle of the Camel 'Alī announced that those who fled would not be killed, those who were wounded would not be attacked, those who shut themselves in their houses would not be touched, and those who lay down their arms would be secure...

The second view is that the war against the refusers of *zakāh* or against the Khawārij and others like them is not like a war against a section of the Companions in the battles of the Camel or Ṣiffīn. This is the recorded view of the majority of the earlier *ummah*, and this is what is believed to be the view of the Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah. The scholars of Madinah such as Mālik and others, and the scholars of *ḥadīth* such as Aḥmad and others, hold the same view.

Scholars have pointed out the differences between these two views on various issues including the issue of property. For example, some believe, they have said, that taking the property of the Khawārij as spoils of war is quite lawful. Abū Ṭālib mentions that Aḥmad says that some Ḥarūrīyyah had property in a village. They fought with the Muslims, who killed them and took their land as *fay* and divided it into five parts, and stipulated that four parts could be distributed among the Muslim soldiers who fought against them, or the *amīr* might declare it a *kharājī* land for the benefit of all the Muslims instead of distributing it among the soldiers, just as 'Umar made the land of 'Irāq a *waqf* for the benefit of the Muslim masses, which his army conquered in war. For Aḥmad, therefore, the land of the Khawārij to be taken in war should be treated as spoils (*ghanīmah*) just like the property of the unbelievers who are captured in war. This is the correct view on the whole in this matter.

The texts of the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the Consensus certainly differentiate between the two cases. The same was the practice of 'Alī (raa). He waged war against the Khawārij on the basis of the Prophet's statement, and was happy to follow it. No Companion disputed that. On the other hand, he was unhappy over the battle he engaged in at Ṣiffīn, and expressed his dislike over it. With regard to the people who fought against him at the battle of the Camel, he said, "They are our brothers who rose against us;

now the sword has made them clean," then he prayed for the dead from among both parties.
[*Fatāwā* 28:510-516]

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# NOTES AND REFERENCES

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[1] Al-Albānī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaghīr* (Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, Beirut, 1988, 4559, with reference to the *Musnad* of Abū Ya‘lā and *Al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr* of Aṭ-Ṭabarānī. In the *ḥadīth* reported by At-Tirmidhī we have the word *millah* instead of *fiṭrah*. (see Al-Albānī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Jāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaghīr*). With some change in the wording the *ḥadīth* also occurs in Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz 80, qadr: 3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: 22, 23, 24, 25; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 11:315, 316, 111: 435, IV:24.

[2] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz 80, 93; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: 23; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 17; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā',* janā'iz 53.

[3] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jannah: 63; *Musnad* IV:162

[4] By the People of Ḥadīth (*ahl al-ḥadīth*) Ibn Taymīyyah only means the scholars of *ḥadīth* who devote themselves to the study of the *ḥadīth* and its various sciences. He does not have in mind any other meaning of the sort which has been given to the later such as the people who claim not to follow any particular school of *fiqh*.

[5] Originally the term Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah referred to the majority of Muslims other than the Shi‘ah and the Khawārij, who seceded from the community. Later on, sects like the Jahmīyyah, who opposed the community on some very fundamental and established issues, were excluded from it. Still, the term comprises people of various schools of thought that differ on theological and juristic issues. [See also the text on pp. 654-5.]

[6] The Karrāmīyyah were the followers of Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Karram (d. 255/355). They conceived of God as a substance (*jawhar*) or a body (*jism*), without human members, of course, but placed on the Throne, located in space. Faith means for them simply the utterance of the two *shahādahs* involving neither conviction nor deeds. Ibn Taymīyyah has refuted this doctrine in his *Kitāb al-Īmān* (Cairo, 1325 A.H. p. 57f). The Karrāmīs found a fertile field for their doctrine in Khurasan; however, they were exterminated when Ghengiz Khan's forces overran the country.

[7] Mu‘tazilah is the name which was given to Wāṣil Ibn ‘Aṭā' and his friends and followers when he differed from his teacher, Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī and left (*i‘tiazala ‘an*) him on the issue regarding the position of one who commits a

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major sin (*kabīrah*). Wāṣil (d. 131/748) said that such a person is neither a Muslim nor a *kāfir*; he has a position in between faith and faithlessness. The Mu'tazilah also developed the doctrine that knowledge of good and evil is rational, that human actions are not created by God, that things are not pre-ordained, that it is incumbent on God to do justice, to reward the righteous and punish the wicked, and that the Qur'ān is created.

[8] The Ashā'irah are the followers of Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Ash'arī (260/873-324/935). A pupil of the famous Mu'tazilī theologian, Al-Jabbā'ī, Al-Ash'arī realized at the age of forty that the Mu'tazilī theology was in conflict with Islamic faith, gave it up, and developed a new theology which goes by his name, and which, because of the works of some great thinkers and writers in the following centuries, became the dominant theology of the Islamic world. The Ashā'irah asserted that good and evil are known only through revelation, that nothing is incumbent on God, that things are pre-determined, that human actions are determined by God, that men do not perform their actions but only acquire them. They upheld the belief that the Qur'ān is the word of God and uncreated, but interpreted that belief in a particular way.

[9] There are two aspects of the issue: one concerns God's power, whether He pre-determines things including the destinies of men and creates their actions, and two asserts that man is completely free in his will and choice and that he is the creator of his acts.

[10] The word Qadarīyyah refers to the sect originating from the pre-Mu'tazilī time which denied the fore-ordainment of things by God and His creation of human actions, and asserted that man is completely free in his will and choice and that he is the creator of his acts.

[11] *Ta'dīl* literally means to justify someone's action, hold him fair and just; *tajwīr* is just the opposite. The question of *ta'dīl* and *tajwīr* is therefore, the question of divine Justice. As discussed in Islamic theology, the question involves various issues, such as fore-ordainment, reward and punishment, and whether divine Will is subject to any kind of ethical judgment.

[12] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qadr: 18: Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II:169.

[13] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 1, bad' al-khalq: 6, qadr:1, tawḥīd:28; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr:1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* Sunnah 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qadr: 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 16.

[14] Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullah Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Kullāb Al-Qaṭṭān (d.ca. 240/845), leader of the Ahl as-Sunnah in his age. His followers were later absorbed in the Ashā'irah (Al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm,* Leiden, 1885, p. 37)

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[15] Jahmīyyah are the followers of Jahm Ibn Ṣafwān, who was executed by Ibn 'Ajwān Al-Muzanī in 123/746. They believe that man has no freedom and is absolutely determined, that faith means knowledge of God and involves no action, that God is not qualified with attributes shared by men such as knowing, living, hearing, speaking, etc., although He can be said to be Creator and Powerful, and that Qur'ān is created (Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, Beirut, 1980, pp. 199-200).

[16] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawḥīd:2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawbah:35; li'ān:17; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV:248.

[17] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 51; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* zuhd: 10.

[18] Usually the term *ḥukamā'* (sing. *ḥakīm*) is used for the philosophers. But here it is used in its original apparent meaning, the people of wisdom and knowledge.

[19] The Salīmīyyah are the followers of Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Salīm (d. 297/909) and his son Aḥmad Abū al-Ḥasan (d. 350/961). The former was a student of the famous Ṣūfī scholar, Sahl Ibn 'Abdullah At-Tustārī (note 87). However, the most outstanding figure of the school was Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī (d. 386/996), the author of the famous book on Ṣūfism, *Qūt al-Qulūb*. The Salīmīyyah try to incorporate in their theology various elements from the doctrines of the Ahl as-Sunnah, the Mu'tazilah, and the Ṣūfīs with monistic leanings. [See As-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'* (Cairo, 1960) pp. 472-6; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt as-Ṣūfīyyah* (Cairo, 1372/1953) pp. 414-6; Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq* (ed. M. Muḥiy ad-Dīn 'Abdul-Ḥamīd, n.d.). pp. 157, 202; Massignon article on the Salamīyyah in *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*]

[20] Abū Al-Faraj 'Abdul-Walīd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ash-Sha'rānī, commonly called Al-Maqdisī, was leader of the Ḥanbalīs of his times in Shām. Born at Shiraz, he learned *fiqh* from Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā at Baghdad, settled at Jerusalem where he died in 486/1093. His writings include *At-Tabṣirah fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn* in theology, and *Al-Manhāj* and *Al-Īḍāḥ* in *fiqh.* [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābilah,* 2:248-9; Ibn Rajab, *adh-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābilah,* 1:68-73; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:327.]

[21] Abū 'Umar Ḍiā' ad-Dīn Uthmān Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Dirbās (516/1123-602/1206). a great Shāfi'ī scholar of his time, born in Banū Marān at Al-Marūj (near Mūṣal in Iraq), moved to Damascus and then to Egypt where he was appointed *qāḍī* in 566/1171 by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Al-Ayyūbī (Saladdin). When retired, he took up teaching at Cairo where he died. His writings include *al-Istisqa' li Madhāhib al-Fuqahā'* in 20 volumes in *fiqh* and *Sharḥ al-Luma'* in principles of jurisprudence. [See Brock. SI. 530; Ibn Shākir Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* 2:31; Ibn Ḥajar Al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Mizān,* 4:150; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,*

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4:375.]

[22] 'Abdullah Ibn 'Alī Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ṣafī ad-Dīn Ash-Shaybī (d. 622/1225) commonly known as Ibn Shukr was born in Dirah al-Bahīyyah in Western Egypt, and distinguished himself in jurisprudence, and wrote the subject. He served in the government at Cairo where he died. [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:243.]

[23] Abū Al-Faraj Ṣadaqah Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Bakhtyār Ibn Al-Ḥaddād Al-Baghdādī (477/1084-573/11770, historian and a man of letters, was under the influence of philosophers. He wrote an addendum (*zayl*) on the *Tārīkh* of Az-Zaghūnī, from the year 527 to his death. [See Ibn Al-'Imād, *Ash-Shadharāt,* 4:245; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 10:276; Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 11:170; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:290.]

[24] Abū Al-Faraj 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Al-Jawzī (d. 597/1202) a great Ḥanbalī scholar and prolific writer, wrote on the Qur'ān, ḥadīth, biography, and history. His works that exceed three hundred volumes include *Zād al-Masīr fī 'ilm at-Tafsīr,* a voluminous commentary on Qur'ān, *Ṣifat as-Ṣafwah,* a work on the biography of pious men, *Al-Mawḍū'āt* on fake *ḥadīth, Talbīs Iblīs,* a review of the alterations of various sections of the society, *Al-Muntaẓam,* in general history. [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* IV:89-90; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāt al-A'yān,* 2:321-2; Ibn Rajab, *Adh-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:399-433; Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 10:228, 12:67.]

[25] Abū Al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Sayf ad-Dīn Al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), is famous for his work *Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām* in jurisprudence, and *Abkār al-Afkar fī 'ilm al-Kalām* in theology. He was born and brought up in Baghdad, taught in Egypt, and died at Damascus. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāt al-A'yān,* Cairo, 1367/1948, 2:455-6; As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt Ash-Shāfi'īyyah,* Cairo, 1383/1964, 5:129-30; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt* 3:323-4.]

[26] Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Al-Ḥasan Fakhr ad-Dīn Ar-Rāzī (544/1150-606/1210), the great Ash'arī theologian, philosopher, Shāfi'ī *faqīh,* and commentator of the Qur'ān, was born at Rayy, lived in various places, Khawarizm, Mawara an-Nahr and Khurasan, and died at Ḥirat. He wrote in both Arabic and Persian. His works, which became very popular in his own lifetime, included *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb,* a commentary on the Qur'ān in eight volumes, *Arba'īn fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn, Asās At-Taqdīs, Al-Maṭālib al-'Alīyyah,* in theology, *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn wa al-Mutakhkhirīn,* commentary on the *Ishārāt* ofIbn Sīnā in philosophy, and *Al-Maḥṣūl fī 'ilm al-Uṣūl* in principles of jurisprudence among others. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:474; As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'īyyah,* 5:33; Az-Zarkalī, Al-*A'lām,* 7:203.]

[27] 'Alī Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Isḥāq, Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Ash'arī (260/873-324/935), the

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founder of the Ash‘arī school of theology (see note 8), has presented his views in a small work, *Al-Ibānah,* and exponded them in *Kitāb al-Luma‘* and other works. His *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* is a compendium of theological ideas and schools that had appeared by his time in Islam and is one of the most important and precise sources on the subject. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:326; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah,* 11:187; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A‘lām,* 4:263, Brock, S.I. 345.]

[28] Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Muḥammad, Abū Ya‘lā (380/990-458/1060), a very distinguished Ḥanbalī *faqīh* and writer, served as judge at Baghdad and other places. He has books on the Ḥanbalī *fiqh, Uṣūl,* and theology, of which the *Al-Aḥkām As-Sulṭānīyyah* on the principles of government is very famous, besides *Al-‘Adl* and *Al-Kifāyah* in principles of jurisprudence, and *Aḥ*kām al-Qur'ān in Qur'ānic studies. [See Ibn Al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt,* 4:306-7; Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:193-230; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A‘lām,* 6:331; Broc. I:502 (398).]

[29] ‘Alī Ibn Ubaydullah Ibn Naṣr Ibn As-Sarīy, Abū Al-Ḥasan Ibn Az-Zaghūnī (455/1063-527/1132), an eminent Ḥanbalī scholar of Baghdad, *fiqh,* and historian has books on *fiqh,* principles of jurisprudence, and principles of faith (*Uṣūl ad-Dīn*). [See Az-Zarkalī, Al-*A‘lām,* V:124; Ibn Al-‘Imād, *Shadhrāt Adh-Dhahab,* 4:80-81; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 10:320.]

[30] Abū Al-Wafā' ‘Alī Ibn ‘Aqīl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘Aqīl (431/1040-513/1119), a great scholar of *fiqh, uṣūl* and *kalām* from Baghdad, was the leader of Ḥanbalīs in his time. His writings include an encyclopaedic work, *Kitāb al-Funūn,* and *Al-Fuṣūl, Kifāyat al-Muftī* in Ḥanbalī *fiqh,* and a work on principles of jurisprudence in three volumes. [Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A‘lam,* V:129; Ibn Al-‘Imād, *Shadhrāt adh-Dhahab,* 4:35-40; Ibn Rajab, *Adh-Dhayl ‘alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:142-163.]

[31] Abū Al-Khaṭṭāb Maḥfūz Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Al-Ḥasan Al-Kaludhānī (432/1041-510/1116), born and brought up in Baghdad, was the leader of Ḥanbalīs in his time. He wrote on Ḥanbalī *fiqh, uṣūl* and theology. His book, *At-Tamhīd* on principles of jurisprudence has been mentioned (Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A‘lām,* 6:178). [See also Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. M. Ḥāmid Al-Fiqī, Cairo a.d. 2:258; Ibn Rajab, *Adh-Dhayl,* 1:116-127; Ibn Al-‘Imād, *Shadhrāt,* 4:27-88.]

[32] Abū Ḥanīfah An-Nu‘mān Ibn Thābit Ibn Zutī (80/699-150/767), the great founder of Ḥanafī school of *fiqh* was born and brought up at Kūfah in a family that had come to ‘Iraq from Afghanistān. Besides *fiqh,* Abū Ḥanīfah also contributed considerably towards the development of orthodox theology. The book al-*fiqh* al-Akbar is attributed to him, but it is not his work. However, judging from the various statements that have been proved of him in different sources, his views on *īmān.* and *islām,* fore-ordainment, and status of the Qur'ān

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can be ascertained. These views were later developed by propel of his school, particularly by Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 332/943). [See A. J. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, Frank Cass ī Co. 1965 ch. VI-VIII; and Zurah, Abū Ḥanīf*ah, Ḥayātuhu wa 'Asruhu, Ara'uhu wa Fiqhuhu,* Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, Cairo, a.d. pp. 168-188.)

[32a] Muḥammad Ibn Zakarīyyah Abū Bakr Ar-Rāzī (251/965-311/923), an outstanding physician, was born at Rayy. At the age of thirty he went to Baghdad and devoted himself to alchemy where he took up the studies of medicine and philosophy. He was a very prolific writer; his books and tracts reach 232. *Al-Ḥāwī* is his most famous book on medicine. He was the head of the hospital at Rayy, and another at Baghdad. His philosophical tracts have also been collected and published. [See, Ibn An-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 1:299; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 2:78; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 6:364-5.]

[33] Abū Al-Ma'ālī 'Abdul-Malik Ibn 'Abdullah Al-Juwaynī, commonly known as *Imām al-Ḥarāmayn* (419/1028-478/1085), an erudite scholar and eminent Shāfi'ī jurist and a great Ash'arī theologian, came from Juwayn, a small town in the vicinity of Nishapur in Iran. His works on theology include *Kitāb al-Irshad,* a classic of Ash'arī theology, *Ash-Shāmil fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn,* and *Al-'Aqīdah an-Niẓāmīyyah,* his last word on the subject. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:287. As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt Ash-Shafi'īyyah,* 3:249; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:306; Brock. 1:486, S.I. 671.]

[34] Sulaymān Ibn Khalaf Ibn Sa'd, Abū Al-Walīd Al-Bājī (403/1012-474/1082), an eminent Mālikī jurist and scholar of *ḥadīth* was born in Baya (Spain). In 426/1037 he went to Hijaz, spent some time at Baghdad, Mosul, Damascus, and Halb, and finally returned to Spain where he served as a judge at various places. He died at Almeria. Among his books we have *Al-Muntaqā,* a commentary on the *Muwaṭṭā* of Mālik, and another one the *Al-Mudawwanah* in Mālikī *fiqh.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt, 1:215;* Al-Khaṭābī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt, 1:175;* Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:186.]

[35] For Ar-Rāzī see note 26.

[36] 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Ibn Al-'Abbās Ash-Shāfi'ī (150/767-204/819) was born in Shām (Palestine), brought up and educated at Makkah, studied *fiqh* with Imām Mālik at Madinah and Imām Muḥammad Ash-Shaybānī in Iraq, and settled in Egypt in 199/814 where he developed his own school of *fiqh.* His *Risālah* is an exposition of the basic principles of his *fiqh* and underlines the importance of ḥadīth in *fiqh,* while *Al-Umm* incorporates his legal views in detail. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:447; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 2:140; Abū Nu'mān, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 9:63; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 6:250; Brock. 1:188 (178), S.I. 303.]

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[37] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah:5; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 4:131. In the *Musnad* we have both words, al-Qur'ān and al-Kitāb.

[38] This *ḥadīth* has been noted by Ad-Dārimī (*Sunan*, 1:60) as well as Abū Dāwūd and At-Tirmidhī. But it is weak. Ibn Ḥazm has pointed out (*Al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Imām, n.d. p. 773) that one of the narrators of the *ḥadīth*, Al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Āmr, is an unknown person and hence the *ḥadīth* cannot be the basis of argument. However, the point for which Ibn Taymīyyah has quoted the *ḥadīth* is valid and agreed upon.

[39] Abū Mas'ūd 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/652), one of the earliest six to embrace Islam, was in the service of the prophet for many years. He was the most knowledgeable Companion on the Qur'ān. 'Umar Al-Fārūq, the second caliph, sent him to Kūfah to teach the Qur'ān, where he also served as a *qāḍī* and the head of the government treasury. [Ibn Hajr Al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Iṣābah*, 4955; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah*, 1:154; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah*, 1:124; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 4:280.]

[40] See Ibn Jarīr, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Tā'wīl Ayn al-Qur'ān*, (Cairo, Al-Ḥalābī, 1373 A.H.), 1:80.

[41] 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687), one of the most eminent scholars of the Qur'ān among the Companions of the Prophet, known as 'the Commentator of the Qur'ān', and the fourth most prolific narrator of the *ḥadīth*, and a distinguished *faqīh*. His comments on the Qur'ān form part of all the commentaries on the Qur'ān. However, many comments attributed to him are not genuine. The so-called Commentary ofībn 'Abbās compiled by Abū Tahir Muḥammad Ibn Ya'qūb Al-Firozabādī is not his work. [See Adh-Dhahabī, At-*Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1396/1967.]

[41] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ*, wuḍū':10; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah:138; Aḥmad, *Musnad*. 1:266, 314, 328, 335.

[42] Mujāhid Ibn Jubayr Al-Makkī (21/642-104/722) was the most eminent student of the great commentator of the Qur'ān, 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbās. His comments on the Qur'ān have been put together and published under the title *Tafsīr Mujāhid* by 'Abdur-Raḥmān At-Tahir Muḥammad As-Suratī (Majma' al-Buḥūth, Islamabad, Pakistān) in two volumes.

[44] Abū 'Abdullah Sufyān Ibn Masrūq Ath-Thawrī (97/716-101/778) called the *amīr al-mu'minīn fī al-ḥadīth* was born and brought up at Kūfah, refused to accept *qaḍā*, the post of judge, offered by the Abbasid caliph Manṣūr, left Kūfah in 144/761, and passed the rest of his life in Makkah and Madinah. Among his books we have two collections of *ḥadīth*, one large and one small.

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[45] Abū 'Abdullah Sa'īd Ibn Jubayr (45/665-95/714), by origin an Abysinian, a client of Banū Asad, settled in Kūfah. A student of Ibn 'Abbās and 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar in the Qur'ān, he was the most knowledgeable among the Successors on the Qur'ān. When the people of Kūfah would go to Ibn 'Abbās and ask for his views and counsel, he would wonder why they went to him while Sa'īd was there among them. Sa'īd sided with 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Al-Ash'ath when he rose against 'Abdul-Malik Ibn Marwān; for that reason Ḥajjāj killed Sa'īd though everyone on earth was in need of his knowledge. (See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:145; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:204; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 4:272; Ibn Al-Kathīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 4:220, Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 8:93.]

[46] Abū 'Abdullah 'Ikramah Ibn 'Abdullah (d.105/723), a Berber slave ofībn 'Abbās freed after the death of the master by latter's son, 'Alī, distinguished himself as a scholar of the Qur'ān. Ash-Sha'bī has said, "There is no one on earth more knowledgeable on the book of God than 'Ikramah" (Adh-Dhahabī, *At-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn,* vol. I, p. 111). [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:319; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-Awliyā',* 3:326; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:244].

[47] 'Aṭā' Ibn Ribāḥ (27/280-114/732) a student of 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbās in *tafsīr,* was the most distinguished jurist (*faqīh*) of his time at Makkah.

[48] Abū Sa'īd Al-Ḥasan Ibn Yasār al-Basarī (21/642-110/728), an outstanding scholar, a great narrator of *ḥadīth,* a scholar of the Qur'ān, a *faqīh,* orator and ascetic was the *shaykh* of the Baṣrīs of his time. Ḥasan 'Abbās wrote a book on his life. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 2:69-73; Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl,* 1:254; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah,* 2:131; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 2:242.]

[49] Abū 'Ā'ishah Masrūq Ibn Al-Ajda' (d. 63/683) has been regarded as the most knowledgeable student of 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd at Kūfah.

[50] Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn Al-Musayyib (13/634-94/712), a great scholar of *ḥadīth, fiqh* and the Qur'ān is hailed as the leader of Successors (*Sayyid at-Tābi'īn*). [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:206; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwa,* 2:44; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah,* 2:161; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:155.]

[51] Abū Al-'Alīyah Rāfi' Ibn Mihrān Ar-Riyyāḥī (d. 90/709) was a distinguished Successor and scholar of the Qur'ān.

[52] Ar-Rubay' Ibn Anas, a distinguished scholar of the Qur'ān, died in 139/756.

[53] Abū Al-Khaṭṭāb Qatādah Ibn Ḍiyamah (d. 118/736), scholar of the Qur'ān and a man of extraordinary memory of *ḥadīth* at Baṣrah. [Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ,* 1:115; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:427; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* VI:27.]

[54] Abū Al-Qāsim Aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk Ibn Muzāḥim Al-Balkhī (d. 105/723), a scholar of

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the Qur'ān, learned tafsīr from Sa'īd Ibn Jubayr (d. 95/714) and wrote a book on the subject [Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl,* 1:471; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:310.]

[55] Shu'bah Ibn Al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Al-Warad Al-Anṭākī (82/701-160/776), one of the leading scholars of *ḥadīth* at Baṣrah, wrote a book, *Al-Gharīb* in *ḥadīth* [Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 111/242.]

[56] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr (*fī al-tarjumah*); Aḥmad, *Musnad,* vol. I, 233, 269, 323, 327. Al-Albānī considers it to be a weak *ḥadīth* (*Ḍā'īf al-Jāmi'al aṣ-Ṣaghīr,* 5738). But Shaykh Aḥmad Shākir regards it as authentic [See *Sunan At-Tirmidhī,* Hims, vol. 8 p. 146). See also Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr,* 1:77-78, Al-Khaṭṭābī, *Ma'ālīm as-Sunan,* 5:249.]

[57] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr, 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* 'ilm, 5. Al-Albānī rates this *ḥadīth* as weak. [See *Ḍā'īf al-Jāmi' al aṣ-Ṣaghīr,* 5736.]

[58] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* 'ilm, 3; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* 'ilm, 9; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah, 24; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II:263, 305, 244, 353, 495.

[59] See Ibn Jarīr Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Tā'wīl Ayn al-Qur'ān,* (Cairo, Al-Ḥalābī, 1372 A.H.), 1:75.

[60] Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Aṭ-Ṭabarī 224/839-310/923), a great historian, an eminent *faqīh* of the rank of *mujtahid,* and a very outstanding commentator of the Qur'ān, was born in Tabristān and settled in Baghdad where he died. His commentary, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* is the most eminent commentary based on the tradition of the *Salaf* available to us. Among his other works we have *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk,* 7 volumes in history, *Tahdhīb al-Athar* in *ḥadīth, Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā'* in *fiqh,* and *Adab al-Qaḍāt* on judicial conduct.

[60a] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tafsīr: 6:2, i'tiṣām:11; Al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr:6:2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III:29; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm,* Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d. vol. II: p. 140.

[61] This man vowed that he would divorce his wife, if it was true that the Qur'ān is sound and letters, and that "God ascends the Throne" taking the words on their *ẓāhir,* or face value, and as people understand them. Ibn Taymīyyah was asked whether this man had to carry out his oath or not.

[62] Dāwūd Al-Jawāribī was a Rāfiḍī and an anthropomorphist. He believed that God was a body though not something solid within (see Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl,* Maṭba'at As-Sa'ādah, Cairo, 1325/1907, entry 2661; also Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn,* ed. M. Muhīy ad-Dīn 'Abdul-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1950, p. 209; Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq,* Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, Beirut, 1393/1973,

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p. 320).

[63] Abū Al-Ḥasan Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Bashīr (d. 150/767), a distinguished commentator of the Qur'ān, originally from Balkh, settled at Baṣrah. His writings include *Nawādir At-Tafāsīr*, *Mutashābih al-Qur'ān*, *An-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh*, in Qur'ānic studies, and *Ar-Radd 'alā al-Qadarīyyah* in theology [see Az-Zarkālī, *Al-A'lām*, 7:281].

[64] Hishām Ibn Al-Ḥakam (d. 190/805), theologian and dialectician, was the leader of the Imāmīyyah Shi'īs of his time. He was born at Kūfah, brought at Wāsiṭ, and settled at Baghdad. He joined the company of Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid Al-Barmakī, the vizier of the Abbasids and exercised considerable influence on him. He wrote in defense of the Shi'ah doctrines of *imāmah* and *qadr* and in refutation of the Mu'tazilī views on Talḥah and Az-Zubayr. When the Barmakids came under the fire he went into hiding but died shortly afterwards. [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām* 9:82, Ibn An-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 1:75; Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, 1:31-34; Ash-Sharistānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 1:396-402. Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, 41-3].

[65] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, hisāb:38, jihād:34, 46, 50, 55, 82, 116, 117, 165, ādāb:39, 116; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il;:48, 49; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb:79; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, jihād:14; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, jihād:9; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III:163, 171, 180, 185, 202, 261, 271, 274, 291.

[66] Ḥamād Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū Sulaymān Al-Khaṭṭābī (319/931-288/998), a *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* of distinction from Best in the district of Kabul, descended from Zayd Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb, the brother of the second caliph, 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb. He is famous for his commentary, *Ma'ālīm as-Sunan* on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd. His other works are: *Bayān I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, *Iṣlāḥ Ghalāt al-Muḥaddithuūn*, *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*, etc. [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 2:304; Ibn Khallikān; *Wafayāt* 1:166.]

[67] Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Thābit, Abū Bakr Al-Khaṭīb (392/1002-463/1072) a scholar of *ḥadīth*, and an eminent historian was born at Ghazīyah between Makkah and Kūfah, and brought up at Baghdad where he lived and died. He is known for his *History of Baghdad* which is in fourteen volumes; his other work *Al-Kifāyah fī 'ilm Ar-Riwāyah*, in *ḥadīth* is also very popular. [See Ibn Khallikān; *Wafayāt* 1:37; As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt Ash-Shāfi'īyyah*, 3:12; Ibn Taghrī, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, 5:87; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 1:166.]

[68] Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullah Ibn Muslim Ibn Qutaybah Ad-Dīnawārī (213/828-277/889), a distinguished man of letters and a prolific writer, was born at Baghdad, settled at Kūfah, served as judge at Dinawar, and died at Baghdad. Among his books we have *Adab al-Kātib*, *As-Shi'r wa al-Shu'rā'*, *Al-Mā'ārif*, in

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Arabic literature, *Mukhtalaf al-Ḥadīth*, in *ḥadīth*, *Mushkil al-Qur'ān*, in Qur'ānic studies, and *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* and *Radd 'alā al-Shu'ūbīyyah, Faḍl al-'Arab 'alā al-'Ajam* in history. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*:1:251, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, Hyderabad, 1329, 3:357; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 4:280.]

[69] Umm Salamah (28 B.H./596-62/681) the daughter of Abū Umayah, embraced Islam in the early days in Makkah, migrated with her husband Abū Salamah to Abyssinia where their son Salamah was born. After the Prophet's migration to Madinah, the family also migrated to Madinah where Abū Salamah died. Umm Salamah was a lady of wisdom and virtue. She consented to marry the Prophet when he proposed to her. At Hudaybīyyah when Muslims were unhappy with the terms of the agreement between the Prophet and the Quraysh and were not ready to sacrifice their animals, she advised the Prophet to go ahead and offer the sacrifice first, then the rest of the people followed suit. [See *Wafayāt*, 61; *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd*:8:60-68; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1309; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 9:104.]

[70] Abū 'Uthmān Rabī'ah Ibn 'Abdur-Raḥmān (d. 136/735) commonly known as Rabī'at al-Rai', was a learned jurist of independent views (*mujtahid*). [See Adh-Dhahabi' *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 1:157-58; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 2:50-52; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 3:42.]

[71] Mālik Ibn Anas Ibn Mālik (d. 179/795), the founder of the Mālikī School of *fiqh*, was the leader of the *ḥadīth* scholars in his times. Besides *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, a collection of *ḥadīth* which also contains the words of the Companions and Successors, and forms the basis of the *fiqh* he developed, his writings include a work on the Qur'ān: *Tafsīr Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, which is no longer extant.

[72] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, hibah:38, jihād:34, 46, 50, 55, 82, 116, 117, 165, ādāb:39, 116; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il:48, 49; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb, 79; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, jihād:14; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, jihād:9; Aḥmad, *Sunan*, III:147, 163, 171, 180, 185, 202, 261, 271, 274, 291.

[73] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣḥāb an-nabī:25, maghāzī: 44; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, zakāh:5, 14; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, manāqib,:49; Aḥmad, I:8, 204, IV:90, V:299, 301.

[74] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad* VI:87, 114.

[74a] Al-'Ajlūnī, Ismā'īl Ibn Muḥammad wrote in his book *Kashf al-Khifā'* (Cairo, Al-Qudsī, 1351 A.H.), 1:348-49 that Aṭ-Ṭabarānī has noted this *ḥadīth* in his *Mu'jam*, and that Abū 'Ubayd has mentioned it in his *Musnad* and ascribed it to the Prophet. He has also produced other chains through which the *ḥadīth* has been reported. Ibn Ad-Dibā' Ash-Shaybānī says in his *"Tamyīz Aṭ-Ṭayyīb min al-Khabīth* (ed. al-Kawtharī, Cairo, 1368 A.H., p. 65) that it has been reported as

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the word ofībn 'Abbās. Mūllah 'Alī Qarī counts it as fabricated (*mawḍū'*). but the editor of his book *Al-Mawḍū'at,* (Beirut, 1391) Muḥammad As-Sabbagh says, p.113) that though it is a weak *ḥadīth* it is supported by other similar traditions.

[75] Abū Maḥraz Jahm Ibn Ṣafwān, the leader of Jahmīyyah, was born in Khurasan, passed his early life at Tirmidh, entered into a debate with some Buddhists, who led him to complete skepticism. After forty days he regained his faith in God, but towing the line of Al-Ja'd Ibn Dirham, he denied that God has attributes over and above His essence. He also denied freedom of will and the eternity of Paradise and Hell. He was killed along with al-Ḥārith Ibn Surayj in a battle against the Ummayads. [See Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk,* Dār Iḥyā At-Turāth al-'Arabī, Beirut, n.d. vol 7, 220-2, 236-7]

[76] Abū Al-Hudhayl Muḥammad Ibn Al-Hudhayl Al-'Allāf (135/752-235/849), leader of the Mu'tazilah of Baṣrah in his time, and an astute dialectician, is credited with the formulation of the five principles of the school, and commanded respect from the Abbasid caliphs, al-Māmūn, Al-Mu'taṣim, and Al-Wāthiq. Among his students was Ibn Abī Dāwūd, the powerful vizier of the Abbasids.

[77] This *ḥadīth* is not found in any known collection of *aḥādīth*; its wording indicates that it originated in Ṣūfī circles and is fabrication of the Ṣūfīs.

[78] What is true of the earlier *ḥadīth* is also true of this *ḥadīth.*

[79] The Karamathians (*al-Qarāmaṭah*) are an extremist off-shoot of the Ismā'īlīs who have caused havoc and destruction in the Islamic world. For the Ismā'īlīs, see note 80.

[80] Ismā'īlīs are those Shi'īs who separated from others when they put up Ismā'īl instead of his brother Mūsā Kāẓim as their seventh imām after their father Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq, the sixth imām, died. Today the Ismā'īlīs are found in southern and eastern Africa, Syria, India and Pakistān. Like other Shi'īs they believe in the doctrine of *imāmah*: that the imām is infallible, that he is the right interpreter of the faith and the *shar',* that belief in him is necessary for salvation, and that the last imām has gone into hiding, will appear at the end of the world as the promised Mahdī, and will establish the reign of faith and peace.

[81] Nuṣarīyyah are an extremist Shi'ah sect who believed that God appeared in the form of 'Alī and the other imāms, and therefore take them as divine beings. [See Ash-Shahristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal,* 1:168-69; Ar-Rāzī, *I'tiqādāt firaq al-Muslimīn,* ed. Dr. Sāmī Nashshār, Cairo, 1365/1938), p. 61; 'Abdur-Raḥmān Al-Badawī, *Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyīn,* Beirut, 1971, vol II. Ibn Taymīyyah has refuted their doctrines in a tract included in the *Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām,* vol. 35,

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as well as in *Minhāj as-Sunnah,* Ed. Dr. Rashād Salīm, Riyadh, 2:409.]

[82] The term Rawāfiḍ or Rāfiḍah refers to the majority of the Shi'īs who refuse (*rafḍ*) to follow the line of Zayd Ibn 'Alī Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib in abstaining from condemning Abū Bakr and 'Umar, since his grandfather, 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib did not condemn them. They insist on denouncing them and the third caliph, 'Uthmān.

[83] Zaydīyyah are those Shi'īs who believe in the *imāmah* of Zayd Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib who rose against Yūsufībn 'Umar Ath-Thaqafī, the governor of the Ummayad ruler Hishām Ibn 'Abdul-Malik (106/724-126/743) in Iraq. The Zaydīs later *divided into three major sects: Jarudīyyah, Sulaymānīyyah, and Butrīyyah. [See Al-Baghdādī, Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq,* ed. Muḥammad Muhīy ad-Dīn 'Abdul-Ḥāmid, Cairo, Subayh, n.d. pp. 25, 34-6.]

[84] Probably he is Ibrāhīm Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Bashīr Ibn 'Abdullah Al-Ḥarbī (178?794-225/839), a distinguished scholar of *ḥadīth*, originally from Marwah, settled later at Baghdad where he taught and wrote. His books include *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth, Manāsik al-Ḥajj,* and *Dalā'il an-Nubūwwah.* An ascetic, he lived on small means and refused the grant which al-Mu'taḍḍī sent him. [See Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ,* 2:147; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 2:228; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:86; Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh,* Baghdad, 6:27; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 1:24.]

[85] Abū Bakr Muhīy ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Aṭ-Ṭā'ī, Commonly known as Ibn Arabī/Ibn Al-'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240) was born in Murcia (Spain) and died in Damascus. A mystic of vast learning, great intellect, and fertile imagination, he expounded and elaborated the philosophy of *waḥdat al-wujūd,* Unity of Being, which dominated the Islamic world for centuries and still exercises considerable influence, for his biography see Sayed Ḥusayn Naṣr, *Three Muslim Sages,* (Harvard, Cambridge, 1964), pp. 92-102. The best work on his philosophy is by Dr. A. E. 'Affifī: *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul 'Arabi* (Lahore, Ashraf, reprint from C. U. P. edition).

[86] Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Junayd Ibn Muḥammad (d. 297/909) Al-Baghdādī, the most outstanding Ṣūfī of his time, highly learned, extremely balanced and sober, strictly observed the Sharī'ah. Ṣūfīs hail him as the leader of the Ṣūfī community (*Sayyid aṭ-Ṭā'ifah*) and trace their *ṭarīqah* from him. Dr. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Abdul-Qādir has published his *Rasā'il* in his book, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd* (London, Luzac ī Co. Gibb Memorial Series, 1962) [See As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt Aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* ed. Nur ad-Dīn, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabī, 1953, pp. 155-63; Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah,* pp. 110-119.]

[87] Abū Muḥammad Sahl Ibn 'Abdullah At-Tustārī (d. 283897) was from Tustār

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in the Persian province of Khuzistān, where he taught Islamic sciences and instructed in Ṣūfism before he came to Baṣrah and settled down. He was know for his abstinence, renunciation, fasting throughout the year, and miracles. Walter De Gruyter has studied his commentary on the Qur'ān in *The Mystic Vision of Existence in Classical Islam* (Berlin and New York, 1980). [See also As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt As-Ṣūfīyyah,* op.cit. pp. 206-211; Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah,* 92-95.]

[88] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ismā'īl Al-Khawwaṣ (d. 291/904), a famous Ṣūfī of his times and contemporary of Junayd was from Rayy where he lived and died. He is said to have written some books. [See Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Al-Baghdad,* Cairo, 1349/1931, vol. VI p. 7. See also Ash-Sha'ranī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,* Cairo, n.d. vol I. p. 83; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt Aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* op. cit. 284-86; Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah,* 146-48]

[89] Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* ed. Dr. 'Abdul-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd ī Maḥmūd Ibn Ash-Sharīf, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, n.d. pp. 28-29.

[90] Abū 'Abdur-Raḥmān Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Mūsā As-Sulāmī (330/94-412/1021), the leader of the Ṣūfīs in Khurasan is the author of a commentary on Qur'ān, *Haqā'iq at-Tafsīr.* The book is not however a commentary in the common sense of the term, it is rather a collection of what Ṣūfīs like Ibn 'Aṭā' Allah Al-Iskandarī, Al-Junayd, Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ and Sahl Ibn 'Abdullah At-Tustārī have said regarding different verses of the Qur'ān. He is best known for his *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfīyyah,* an authoritative source on the life and views of the early Ṣūfīs.

[91] Ja'far Ibn Muḥammad Al-Bāqir Ibn 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (80/699-148/765), known with the title Aṣ-Ṣādiq, the True, is held the sixth imām by the Ithnā 'Ashrī Shi'īs. He was a renowned scholar and teacher. Among his students mention may be made of two great imāms of *fiqh,* Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* I:105, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* II:94; Abū Nu'aym: *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā', III:192;* Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* II:121.]

[92] Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī Al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), a leading scholar of the ḥadīth, from Khurasan. Among his works mention may be made of *As-Sunan al-Kubrā* (first ed. Hyderabad, India, 1352 A.H.) *Al-Asmā' wa al-Ṣifat* (ed. Muḥammad Zāhid Al-Kawthrī, Maṭba'at as-Sā'ādah, Cairo, 1358) and *Dalā'il an-Nubūwwah* (ed. Dr. 'Abdul-Mu'ṭī Al-Qal'ājī, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmīyyah, Beirut, 1405/1985).

[93] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād:171; dīyat:24, 31; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* dīyat:16; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* dīyat:*5;* An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* qasamah:14.

[94] Al-Ghazālī has mentioned this *ḥadīth* in *Iḥyā.* Commenting on it, Al-'Irāqī has

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said that Abū Nu'aym has mentioned it in his *Ḥilya* but counted it as weak (*ḍā'īf*). [See *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, vol. I. p. 121.]

[95] See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 287, 289; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, zakāh: 3; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, zuhd: 32; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, tafsīr: 53:7

[96] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ḥudūd:1, jihād:117; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, taḥrīm:14.

[97] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ādāb:96; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, birr:165; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, zuhd:5, da'wat:98; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, riqāq:71; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I:292, III:104, 110, 159, 165, 167, 168, etc.

[98] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣhāb an-nabī:20, 27, isti'dhān:38; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, manāqib:37; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI:449, 451.

[99] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'ilm:42. As for Abū Hurayrah (d.58/678), he was 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Ṣakhar Ad-Dawsī. Abū Hurayrah is the name by which the prophet called him. According to a cautious recent study, he has narrated some 1236 *aḥādīth*. [See Muṣṭafā 'Aẓamī, *Studies in Ḥadīth Methodology and Literature*, Indianapolis, American Trust Publication, 1977 p. 20.] He came to Madinah in the year 7 A.H. and joined the group called *Aṣhāb aṣ-Ṣuffah*, and devoted himself to remembering the sayings of the Prophet. During his caliphate, 'Umar appointed him governor of Bahrain for a period. Thereafter Abū Hurayrah returned to Madinah where he died. He used to give opinions on legal issues. [See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,*:1179; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah*:1:285; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah*:1:276; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*:4:80-81.]

[100] 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb (d. ca. 74/693), one of the most outstanding younger Companions, and a learned scholar known for his piety and strict imitation of the Prophet, distinguished himself as a narrator of *ḥadīth*, next only to Abū Hurayrah.

[101] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣahābah:6, anbiyā':54; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣahābah:23; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, manāqib:17; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI:55.

[102] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, tafsīr:15:6. Al-Albānī considers this *ḥadīth* to be weak (*ḍā'īf*) [See his *Ḍā'īf Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr*, *ḥadīth* 127.]

[103] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, riqāq:38; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI:256; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, fitan:16.

[104] See Al-Haythamī, *Majma' az-Zawā'id wa Manba' al-Fawā'id.* (Beirut, Al-Ma'ārif, 1406/1986), 9:67.

[105] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 'aqīdah:3; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, aḥkām:1; Aḥmad

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*Musnad*, III:118, 220.

[105a] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 101.

[106] The treaty of Hudaybīyyah, which the Prophet signed with the Quraysh, appeared to many Companions to be unequal and somewhat detrimental to the Muslims. 'Umar felt it very stronly and talked to the Prophet about it in a way he later felt very sorry for. He never talked to Abū Bakr in the same angry tone. Abū Bakr pacified him and defended the Prophet. [See Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tafsīr:48:51.]

[107] When the Prophet died, 'Umar was so shocked that he lost control of himself and was not ready to believe that he had died. Abū Bakr, on the other hand, was composed. Reciting verse 3:14, he reminded the people that the Prophet was a human being and had died. His words brought 'Umar to his senses and led him to accept the death of the Prophet. [See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. I. p. 40.

[108] After the death of the Prophet a number of tribes who had surrendered to him refused to pay *zakāh*. Abū Bakr, was elected *khalīfah* after the Prophet, declared he would fight the renegade tribes till they paid *zakāh* to the government. 'Umar had a different view, but when Abū Bakr argued the case and expressed his firm determination, 'Umar realized that he was right. [See also the text on p. 649.]

[109] During his reign 'Umar once tried to limit the amount of dower money (*mahr*) which the bridegroom pays to the bride. Speaking from the pulpit of the Prophet's mosque, he fixed the maximum amount at four hundred dirhams. Thereafter, a woman reciting verse 4:20 drew his attention to this proposal being against the Qur'ān. 'Umar realized it and admitted his mistake. [See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. I. p. 467.]

[110] Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Sīnā (730/980-428/1037), a most outstanding physician and philosopher, was born and brought up at Bukhara, served as minister at the court of Ḥamadān, where people became his enemy, so he went into hiding, moved to Isfahan, and in the end returned to Ḥamadān where he died. He and his father were Karmathian missionaries. He is known for his *Al-Qānūn*, a most distinguished work on medicine, and for his works on logic and philosophy, such as *An-Najāt, Ash-Shifā'*, in four volumes, *Al-Ishārāt*, among many others. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 1:152; Al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, Leipzig, 27-22; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 2:261-2.]

[110a] The reference is probably to Ash'arī theologian and philosopher, Fakhr ad-Dīn Ar-Rāzī, for whom cf. note 35.

[111] Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī (450/1058-550/1111) is known as *Ḥujjat al-Islām* for

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his profound criticism of Greek philosophy and defense ofīslamic faith. He was born at Tus, studied *fiqh* and *kalām* with Imām al-Ḥaramayn Al-Juwaynī (see note 33), took up teaching at Niẓāmīyyah College, Baghdad, gave it up later, pursued the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah,* finally settled down at his home town and devoted himself to writing and teaching. His writings include many books on Shāfi'ī *fiqh,* a great work on principles of jurisprudence, an exposition of Islam as faith and life under the title, *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* which is his *magnum opus*; an incisive criticism of Greek philosophy *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah;* a brilliant exposition of the Ash'arī theology, *Al-Iqtiṣād fī al-I'tiqād*; and many books on Ṣūfism. Ghazālī's writings, however, are not free from undesirable philosophical and mystical influences.

[112] Abū Al-'Abbās 'Abdullah Ibn Muḥammad An-Nāshī (d. 293/906) a gifted poet of the rank of Ar-Rūmī and Al-Buḥtarī, and a theologian and logician was from Al-Anbār, settled first at Baghdad, then went to Egypt where he died. He was know as Ibn Shar Shir. Ibn Khallikān has said that he was the author of many fine books. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:263; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad,* Cairo, 1349/1931, 10:92; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:261.]

[112a] For Al-'Āmidī, see note 25.

[113] Muḥammad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Az-Zubayr's view has been quoted by Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767), which means that he must have preceded him, for a discussion on the point see Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm,* Riyadh, Maktabat al-Ma'ārif, n.d. vol. I. pp. 346-7

[114] Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Yasar al-Makhramī (d. 150/767) is famous for his biography of the Prophet. In fact, the *Sīrah* ofībn Hishām, the most authentic and earliest biography of the Prophet, is an edition of the *Sīrah* ofībn Isḥāq.

[114a] For Ibn Qutaybah see note 68.

[115] 'Abdur-Razzāq Ibn Rizq Allah Ibn Abī Bakr, Abū Muḥammad 'Izz ad-Dīn (589/1193-660/1262) a scholar of ḥadīth, Ḥanbalī *fiqh,* and the Qur'ān was born at Ras 'Ayn al-Khabur, traveled to Baghdad, Damascus and Aleppo in search of *ḥadīth.* He headed the Dār al-Ḥadīth at Muṣal and died at Sanjar. His Commentary on the Qur'ān is in four big volumes. [See Ibn Rajab, *Adh-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt* al-*Ḥanābilah*, 2:274, ed, Ḥāmid Al-Fiqī, Cairo, Al-Muḥammadīyyah, 1952; Az-Zarkali; *Al-A'lām*, 4:125.]

[116] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawḥīd:35, bad' al-khalq:8, tafsīr:33:1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān:313, jannah:3-5; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* jannah:15, tafsīr:33:2, 56:1; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* zuhd:39; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* riqāq:98, 105; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III:313, 370, 407, 416, 438, 463, 466, 495, 506, V:234.

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[117] Abū Al-Ḥasan 'Abdul-'Azīz Ibn Al-Ḥārith Ibn Asad At-Tamīmī (317/929-371/982), a Ḥanbalī jurist of Baghdad, very knowledgeable on the differences of the jurists, wrote a book on the principles of jurisprudence and another on inheritance. [Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 7:110; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdad,* 10:461; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:139.]

[118] He is Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Aṭ-Ṭayyib Al-Baqillānī (d. 403/1013). One of the most outstanding Ash'arī theologians, he was born at Baṣrah in 388/949, settled at Baghdad where he died. His writings include *At-Tamhīd fī ar-Radd 'alā al-Malāḥadah al-Mu'ttilah,* and *Al-Inṣāf* in theology, *Kash Asrār al-Bāṭinīyyah* in comparative religion, and *I'jāz al-Qur'ān* on the inimitability of the Qur'ān.

[119] Abū Al-Fatḥ Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Barhan (479/1087-518/1124) a renowned jurist of Baghdad was the author of many works on *fiqh* such as *Al-Basīṭ, Al-Wasīṭ,* and *Al-Wajīz.* He was of the opinion that a laymān does not have to adhere to a particular school of *fiqh.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:29; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt adh-Dhahaḥ,* 4:61; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 1:167.]

[120] Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd Ibn Al-Mubārak Ibn 'Alī Al-Anṣārī (494/1100-569/1174), commonly known as Ibn Ad-Dahhān, was a scholar of Arabic language and literature and a poet. He was born and brought up at Baghdad, later on he settled at Muṣal where he died. His writings include a commentary in four volumes on the Qur'ān, another on the *Al-Īḍāḥ* of Abū 'Alī Al-Farsī in forty parts, a third on the *Al-Luma'* ofībn Jinnī, a collection of poems and some smaller works on language. [Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:209; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:154.]

[121] Most probably he was Qāḍī Abū Bakr Al-Baqillānī. For him see note 18.

[121a] For Ibn 'Aqīl see note 30.

[122] Probably he was Hishām Ibn Al-Ḥakām Ar-Rāfiḍī. See note 64 for him.

[123] Muḥammad Ibn Karrām Ibn 'Irāq Ibn Kharābah, Abū 'Abdullah As-Sijzī (d. 255/869), the leader of the Karramīyyah (see note 6) was born at Sijistān, spent five years at Makkah, then went to Nishapur where the governor of the city Ṭāhir Ibn 'Abdullah put him in jail. When released he went to Syria, but returned again to Nishapur and was put in jail again. In 251 when he was released the second time he went to Jerusalem where he died, [Ash-Shahristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal,* 1:158; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ,* 2:106; Ibn Al-Ḥajr, *Lisān al-Mizān,* 5:353; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 7:236.]

[124] Abū Sa'īd Al-Asmā'ī, Abdul-Mālik Ibn Qurayb Ibn 'Alī Ibn Asmā' Al-Bāhilī

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(126/740-216/831), a renowned narrator of Arabic poetry, and an outstanding scholar of Arabic language, poetry and places, was born at Baṣrah where he lived and died. Akhfash says that he has not seen anyone more knowledgeable on Arabic poetry. He himself used to say that he remembered 10,000 Arabic couplets. He has books with titles like *Camels, Horses, Synonyms*, and poems in a book called *Al-Asmā'iyyāt.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt, 1:288; Az-Zarkalī, Al-A'lām, 4:308;* Brockalmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur,* Leiden, 1:104, S.I.:763.]

[125] Abū Zayd Sa'īd Ibn Aws Ibn Thābit Al-Anṣārī (119/734-215/930) another renowned scholar of Arabic language and literature, was born at Baṣrah where he lived and died. Among his works we have *An-Nawādir, al-Hamz, Al-Matar, al-Mīyyah*, etc. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 1:207; Az-Zarkalī, 3:144.]

[126] Abū Sahl As-Sa'lukī, Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn (296/908-369/980), a Shāfi'ī jurist, man of letters, and scholar of the Qur'ān, comes from the tribe of Banū Ḥanīfah. He was born at Isfahan, taught at Baṣrah for some years, and died at Nishapur. Ath-Tha'lābī has noted many of his couplets, and said that he composed many more. [See As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shafi'īyyah*, Cairo, Al-Ḥalābī, 1964, 2:161-164; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 1:460; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 7:20.]

[127] For Ibn 'Umar see note 100.

[128] Abū 'Uthmān 'Āmr Ibn 'Ubayd (80/699-144/761) initiated, along with his brother in-law, Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā' (d. 131/748), the Mu'tazilī theology. 'Āmr was known for his devotion and asceticism. He was born at Baṣrah and died on the road while returning from Makkah. His writings include a collection of the comments of Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī on the Qur'ān, his teacher from whom he broke away later, and a book on divine unity and justice.

[129] He is Abū Al-Ma'ālī Imām al-Ḥarāmayn Al-Juwaynī, for whom see note 33.

[130] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 17.

[131] Abū Al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Aṭ-Ṭayyib Al-Basarī (d. 430/1044), a renowned Mu'tazilī theologian and jurist, lived and died at Baghdad. His writings include *Al-Mu'tamad fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh* in principles of jurisprudence, *Tasaffuh al-Adillah fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn, Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-Khamsah.*

[132] Abū Al-Barakāt Hibatullah Ibn 'Alī Ibn Malka (d. ca 457/1065), a physician and outstanding philosopher ofīraq, originally a Jew, later embraced Islam. He is known for his *Al-Mu'tabar, fī al-Ḥikmah,* first published from Hyderabad in 1357. [See Ibn Abī Usaybī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā',* Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1956, 3:296-300; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 9:63.]

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[133] For Abū Abdullah Fakhr ad-Dīn Ar-Rāzī see note 35.

[134] Abū 'Abdullah Al-Ḥārith Ibn Asad al-Muhasibī (d. 243/857), a leading Ṣūfī of Baghdad, is known for his writings on Ṣūfī psychological ethics, particularly motivation. *Ar-Ri'ayah li Ḥuqūq Allah* is his best work. Margret Smith has studied his ideas in her *Al-Muhasibi: an Early Mystic of Baghdad* (Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1935).

[135] Abū Al-Ḥasan Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sālīm (d. 350/961) was the son of a renowned Ṣūfī Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sālīm (d. 297/909), the founder of the Salīmīyyah sect in theology, to whose development Abū Al-Ḥasan has also contributed a lot. For the Salīmīyyah see note 19.

[136] Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Aṭīyah Al-Hārithī Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī (d. 386/996), an ascetic and Ṣūfī, was born at Al-Jabal between Baghdad and Wasit, passed most of his life at Makkah where he delivered sermons and achieved fame. Then he went to Baṣrah and from there to Baghdad where he expounded some strange ideas which people disapproved of and refrained from his sermons. He belonged to the Salīmīyyah school of the Ṣūfīs, and is known for his very popular work on Ṣūfīsm, *Qūt al-Qulūb,* (Cairo, Al-Ḥalābī, 1381/1961) in two volumes.

[137] 'Abdul-'Azīz Ibn Ja'far Ibn Aḥmad Al-Baghwī, Abū Bakr (285/898-363/974), a scholar of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and Ḥanbalī *fiqh* of Baghdad, was a pupil of the renowned Ḥanbalī scholar and *muḥaddith* Abū Bakr Al-Khallāl, and was given the same name after him. His writings include *Ash-Shāfī* and *Al-Muqni* and *Al-Khilāf ma'a Al-Shāfi'ī* in *fiqh*, as well as a commentary on the Qur'ān and a book on *ḥadīth*, *Mukhtaṣar as-Sunnah* [see Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt* al-*Ḥanābilah*, 2:119-127; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh al-Baghdad,* 10:459; Ibn Taghir, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, Cairo, 1963, 4:106; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, 1:278; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 4:139.]

[138] Abū 'Abdullah Al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥāmid Ibn 'Alī Ibn Marwān (d. 403/1012) Al-Baghdādī, leader of the Ḥanbalīs of his time died after a long life while returning' from *ḥajj*. His writings include a compendium of Ḥanbalī *fiqh*, *Al-Jāmi'*, besides *Sharḥ Uṣūl ad-Dīn* and *Taḥdīd al-Ajwibah* [Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:171-7; Ibn Taghrī, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, 4: 232; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 7:263; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 2:201.]

[139] Abū Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Sa'īd Ibn Ḥazm (d.456/1064), a renowned Spanish scholar of jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, theology and comparative religion, and leader of the Zahirīs was born at Cordova. His father was in a high post in the government, but Ibn Ḥazm devoted himself to the service of

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knowledge. The best of his works are *Al-Muḥalla bi al-Athar* in eleven volumes, *Al-Faṣl fī al-Milal, Al-Ahwā' wa al-Niḥal,* and *Al-Ḥikam li Uṣūl al-Aḥkām.* [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:330; Al-Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Muwallifīn,* 7:16.]

[140] Abū Muḥammad 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Ibn Ghālib Ibn 'Aṭi'ah (481/1088-546/1151), a man of letters, poet, grammarian, *faqīh* and *qāḍī* from Granada (Spain) wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān entitled *Al-Muharrar al-Wajīz fī Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-'Azīz* in two volumes which is Still unpublished.

[141] For Ibn Mas'ūd see note 3:39.

[142] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān:34, 35, 36; Abū Dāwūd, ādāb:124; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* birr: 30; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 120.

[143] Shaykh al-Islām Abū 'Abdur-Raḥmān 'Abdullah Ibn Al-Mubārak Ibn Waḍiḥ Al-Marwazī (118/736-181/787), a great scholar of *ḥadīth,* a warrior (*mujahid*) and writer passed his life in traveling, collecting *ḥadīth,* participating in jihād, making *ḥajj* many times or doing business. He was also very knowledgeable in *fiqh,* Arabic literature and history. He lived in Khurasan and died at Bahit at the bank of Furāt while returning from a jihād campaign against the Romans. He wrote a book on jihād and another with the title *Ar-Raqā'iq.* [See Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ:*1:253; Abū Nu'aym, *Al-Ḥilyah,* 8:162; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt,* 1:295; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:256.]

[144] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā':10; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* da'wat:54:55; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṭibb:19. sunnah:20; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ṭibb:18, da'wat:40, 90, 112; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ṭibb:35, 36, 46; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* isti'dhān:48; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* shar':9-12, isti'dhān:34; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III:181, 290, 275, II:430, VI:6.

[145] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 'ilm:45, jihād:15, khums:10, tawḥīd:28; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah:149-151; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād:24; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,*; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād:3; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV:393, 397, 402, 405, 415.

[146] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* zuhd:64; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV:332, 333, VI:15, 16.

[147] Abū Sulaymān 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Aṭīyah Ad-Darānī (d. 215/830), a renowned Ṣūfī from Darān, a village in the suburbs of Damascus, is held in esteem by Ibn Taymīyyah. He is said to have said, "I often have an idea from the ideas of the Ṣūfīs in my mind; I reflect on it for days, and never accept it unless it is testified to by two just witnesses: the Qur'ān and the Sunnah." [See Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* ed. Dr. 'Abdul-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, í Maḥmūd Ibn Ash-Sharīf, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, Cairo, n.d. pp. 96-8; see also As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* pp. 75-82; Jamī', *Nafaḥat al-Uns,* Lucknow, Nawalkishore, 1910, pp. 40ff.]

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[148] For Qāḍī Abū Bakr Al-Baqillānī see note 118.

[149] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 5.

[150] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 'ilm:20; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il:15;15; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV:299.

[151] Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, tawbah:1; Aḥmad, Musnad, II:524, 535.

[152] For Ibn Az-Zaghūnī see note 29.

[153] For Al-Juwaynī see note 33.

[154] For Al-Bājī see note 34.

[155] For Ibn 'Aqīl see note 30.

[156] In the text the surname is pronounced Abū Hāzim, but as Ibn Rajab has clearly stated, it is Abū Khazim. He is Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad Khāzīm Ibn Al-Farrā' (527/1132) the brother of Abū Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Abī Ya'lā, the author of Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,. [See Ibn Rajab, Adh-Dhayl 'alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah, 1:184-5; Ibn Al-'Imād, Shadhrāt:4:82; Ibn Al-Jawzī, Al-Muntaẓam: 10:24; Az-Zarkalī, Al-A'lām, 7:249.]

[157] Muḥammad Ibn Al-Haytham Al-Karramī, one of the leaders of the Karramīyyah who, as Ash-Shahristānī has said [Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal, 1:8, 102], tried to defend every idea ofībn Karram. [For the Karramīyyah see note 6.]

[158] He is Qāḍī Abd Bakr Al-Baqillānī, for whom see note 118.

[159] See the Qur'ān, 4:69.

[160] Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, ṣalāt:30, 33; Abū Dāwūd, Sunan, ṣalāt:148, witr, 5; At-Tirmidhī, Sunan, allifīn:75, 113; An-Nasā'ī, Sunan, ṭahārah:119, taṭbīq:47, 71, sahw:89, qiyām al-layl:51; Ibn Mājah, Sunan, iqāmah:117, du'ā':3; Aḥmad, Musnad, I:96, 118, 150, VI:58, 201.

[161] See the references in note 144.

[162] The followers of Hishām Ibn Al-Ḥakam Ar-Rāfiḍī. for Hishām and his ideas see note 64.

[163] Abū Muḥammad Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Muḥammad Al-Farrā' or Ibn Al-Fārrā' Al-Baghawī (436/1044-510/1117), called *Muḥīy as-Sunnah,* The Reviver

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of Sunnah, was a renowned jurist, *muḥaddith,* and commentator of the Qur'ān. He came from Bagha, a village in Khurasan, between Ḥirat and Marwa. His writings include At-T*ahdhīb* in Shāfi'ī *fiqh, Sharḥ as-Sunnah, Maṣābīḥ as-Sunnah al-Jam' bayn aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn* in *ḥadīth,* and a popular commentary on the Qur'ān *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl.* He died at Marwa. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:145; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb,* 4:345; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām.* 2:284.]

[164] Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Kalabādhī (d. 380/990), a scholar of *ḥadīth* and a Ṣūfī from Bukhara, is the author of *Bahr al-Fawā'id,* and *Ma'ānī al-Akhbār* in *ḥadīth* and a very popular introduction of *taṣawwūf* under the title, *At-Ta'arruf li Madhāhib ahl at-Taṣawwūf,* which has been commented upon by many scholars, and translated by A. J. Arberry into English under the tile, *The Doctrine of the Sufis* (C.U.P. 1935). [See Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn,* 225; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 6:186.]

[165] Al-Bukhārī's book is known with the title, *Khalq Af'āl al-'Ibād.* It was first published along with other books by Dr. 'Alī Sāmī An-Nashshār and 'Ammār Jam'ī Aṭ-Ṭālibī in a collection called *'Aqā'id as-Salaf* (Alexandria, Al-Ma'ārif, 1971). It has now been published along with another tract of Al-Bukhārī, *Ar-Radd 'alā al-Jahmīyyah* from Maktabat At-Turāth al-Islāmī, Cairo, 1408/1987.

[166] For Ibn Al-Barr see note 492.

[167] Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hārūn, Abū Bakr Al-Khallāl (d.311/923), a great scholar of *ḥadīth,* Qur'ān and literature, and a leading figure among the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdad, delivered lectures to the students in the Mosque of Al-Mahdī. He is the author of *Tafsīr al-Gharīb, Ṭabaqāt Aṣḥāb Ibn Ḥanbāl, As-Sunnah, Al-'Illal,* and Al-*Jāmi' li 'Ulūm al-Imām Aḥmad,* the like of which, it is said, has not been written in any school. [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, 2:12; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa An-Nihāyah,* 11:148; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ,* 3:7; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad,* 512; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 1:196.]

[168] Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ḥātim Ar-Rāzī d. 327/ 839), a scholar and a critic of *ḥadīth* wrote many books including a big collection of *ḥadīth,* two works, *'Ilāl al-Ḥadīth* and *Al-Jarḥ wa at-Ta'līl* in *ḥadīth* criticism, and a commentary on the Qur'ān. [See Kaḥḥalah, *Mu'jam al-Muwallifīn,* Beirut, At-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1376/1957, V:170.]

[169] Ṣāliḥ Ibn Al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal (203/818-265/878) was born in Baghdad, learned *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* from his father, lmam Aḥmad. He served as *qāḍī* of Baghdad, and then ofIsfahan where he died. [See Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadharāt,* 1:149; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb,* 6:362; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:274.]

[170] 'Abdullah (213/828-290/903), another son ofImām Aḥmad, was also a scholar of *ḥadīth.* He has added to the *Kitāb az-Zuhd* as well as to the *Musnad* of

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his father some thousand *aḥādīth.* [See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb,* 5:41; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:189; Brock, S.I. 310.]

[171] Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān Ibn Al-Ash'ath Ibn Isḥāq As-Sajistānī (202/817-275/889), the leader of the *ḥadīth* scholars in his age, and the author of one of the six foremost collections of *ḥadīth,* was born at Sajistān, traveled to various places for *ḥadīth,* and died at Baṣrah. Besides the *Sunan* in two volumes in which he has put 4800 *ḥadīth* out of 500,000 *ḥadīth* which he had collected, he has also a collection of *marasil ḥadīth.* [See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb,* 6:224; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥuffāẓ* 1:214; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:182.]

[172] Abū Bakr Al-Athram Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥāmī Al-Askāfī (d. 261/883) a scholar of *ḥadīth,* learned *ḥadīth* from Imām Aḥmad and others. He has a book, *'Ilal al-Ḥadīth* and another, the *Sunan.* [Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:66-74; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ,* 2:135; Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* Baghdad, 5:110; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,*1:194.]

[173] Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sa'īd Al-Marwazī (d. 292/905), a scholar of *ḥadīth,* served as *qāḍī* at Hims and then at Damascus where he died. He wrote on *ḥadīth* and compiled a *Musnad* of *ḥadīth.* [Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* 2:211; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 1:164.]

[174] Abū Zur'ah 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn 'Āmr Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Ṣafwān (d.280/893), a great scholar of *ḥadīth* and *rijāl,* was born at Damascus where he taught and died. He has a book *Tārīkh wa 'Ilal ar-Rijāl,* and another, *Al-Masā'il* in *ḥadīth* and *fiqh.* [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:205; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4:94.]

[175] Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs Ibn Al-Mundhir Ibn Dāwūd Ar-Rāzī (195/810-277/891), one of the most eminent scholars of *ḥadīth,* a contemporary of Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, was born at Rayy and died at Baghdad. [See Al-Khaṭīb,*Tārīkh Baghdad,* 2:73-77; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,*1:283-286; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 6:205.]

[175a] Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Bukhārī (194/809-256/870) is the most outstanding compiler of *ḥadīth.* His *Ṣaḥīḥ,* the most authentic collection of *ḥadīth,* contains 2,602 *aḥādīth.* His other works include a smaller collection of *ḥadīth, Al-Adab al-Mufrad,* and a great biographical work on the transmitters of *ḥadīth, At-Tārīkh al-Kabīr.*

[176] Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān Ibn Sa'īd Ad-Dārimī As-Sajistānī (200/815-280/894), was the leading scholar of *ḥadīth* in his time. His works include a collection of *ḥadīth, Sunan Ad-Dārimī,* and a book on the refutation of the Mu'tazilī theologian, Bishr Al-Marīsī (included in the *'Aqā'id, As-Salaf,* compiled by 'Alī Sāmī Nashshār and 'Ammār Jamī' Aṭ-Ṭālibī, Alexandria, Al-Ma'ārif, 1971, pp.

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253-5661.

[177] For Ibrāhīm Al-Ḥarbī see note 84.

[177a] 'Abdul-Wahhāb Ibn Hazawwar Abū Bakr Al-Warrāq (d.450/1058), a Ḥanbalī in *fiqh*, was called Warrāq, because he used to provide paper (*waraq*) to the scholars of *ḥadīth*. [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:19.]

[178] 'Abbās Ibn 'Abdul-'Aẓīm Ibn Ismā'īl, Abū Al-Faḍl Al-'Anbarī (d.246/860) was a student of imām Aḥmad in *ḥadīth*. He also learned *ḥadīth* from Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd Al-Qaṭṭān 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Mahdī and others. 'Abdul-Ḥātim Ar-Rāzī, Muslim and Abū Dāwūd have taken *ḥadīth* from him. [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:235.]

[179] Ḥarb Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Khalaf al-Uanzālī Al-Kirmanī (d. 280/893), a disciple ofīmām Aḥmad, was a distinguished Ḥanbalī scholar. [See Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt adh-Dhahab*:2:176; Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 1:145-461.]

[180] For 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Ḥātim see note 168.

[181] For Abū Bakr Al-Khaṭṭāb see note 167.

[182] He probably was 'Abdul-'Azīz Ibn Muḥammad Al-Banānī Al-Isfahānī, a poet and a man of letters, settled down at Qazwīn, and wrote commentaries on books on Arabic literature. He was alive in the year 581/1185. [See Kaḥḥalah, *Mu'jam Al-Muwallifīn,* 5:258.]

[183] *Uṣūl* literally means principles. Technically, it means both principles of faith (*uṣūl ad-dīn*), theology or *kalām*, and principles of jurisprudence (uṣūl al-fiqh). Fur', on the other hand, refers to practice, or fiqh.

[184] Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad Ibn 'Īsā Ibn Samrah At-Tirmidhī (209/824-279/892), one of the six most outstanding compilers of ḥadīth, comes from At-Tirmidh (near river Jayhun), was a student of Al-Bukhārī, but also took ḥadīth from his teacher. He traveled to Khurasan, Iraq, Hijaz and many places for ḥadīth. He possessed an extraordinary memory. Besides his Sunan or Al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr in two volumes, his writings include Ash-Shamā'il an-Nabawīyyah, At-Tārīkh, and Al-'Ilal fī al-Ḥadīth. [See Adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ, 2:187; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhīb, 9:387; Ibn An-Nadīm, Al-Fihrist, 233; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I:484; Az-Zarkalī, Al-A'lām, 7:213.]

[185] Abū 'Abdur-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sha'b Ibn 'Alī Ibn Sinān An-Nasā'ī (215/830-303/915), another figure among the six outstanding compilers of ḥadīth, came from Nasā' in Khurasan, first settled down in Egypt, then went to Palestine where he was tortured for not speaking in praise of Mu'āwīyah, and

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died. Besides his famous work *As-Sunan al-Kubrā*, he has also *As-Sunan aṣ-Ṣughrā*, and *Aḍ-Ḍu'afā wa al-Matrukūn*, the last on the narrators of *ḥadīth*. [See Adh-Dhahabī,*Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 2:241; As-Subkī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt Ash-Shāfi'ī*, 2:83; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*: 1:21; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 1:164.]

[186] For Ibn Qutaybah see note 68.

[186a] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier, note 65.

[186b] For Abū Al-'Abbās An-Nāshī see note 112.

[187] Ḥarurīyyah is another name for the Khārijīs or Khawārij. They are the people who left the camp of 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth caliph, after he agreed to arbitration (*taḥkīm*) between him and his opponent Mu'āwīyah following their battle at Ṣiffīn (361/656). They condemned *taḥkīm* as an act of faithlessness (*kufr*) and called both parties who agreed to it as infidels. They went further and dubbed everyone who committed a major sin infidel and thought it incumbent on every Muslim to fight against them. Afterwards they developed other theological and political views which set them at war with the majority of the *ummah*. Most of their sub-sects have now vanished; however some remnants are still found in the southeastern part of the Arabian peninsula. They are called Harurīyyah because they held their first meeting at Harurā', a place two miles away from Kūfah after they left 'Alī.

[187a] For Rabī'ah Ibn Abī Abdur-Raḥmān see note 70.

[188] The supplication runs as follows: "There is no god but Allah, the Great, the Forbearing. There is no god other than Allah, the Lord of the Great Throne. There is no god besides Allah, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and the Lord of the Glorious Throne." [Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, da'wat:27; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *dhikr*:83; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, da'wat:80; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I:228, 254, 259, 268, 280, 284, 339, 356.]

[189] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bad' al-khalq:1; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, tafsīr:5:3, '11:9; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 313, 501, IV:431.

[190] Abū Al-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hubayrah Ash-Shaybānī, (499/1105-560/1165), a renowned Abbasid vizier and distinguished scholar, was born in a village in the district of Dujail (Iraq), went to Baghdad where he completed his studies and joined the service of Al-Muqtafī bī Amr Allah, who promoted him to the post of vizier in 544/1149, and honored him with the title of "Awn ad-Dīn." Abū Al-Muẓaffar held that post under later rulers till his death in 560/1165. Along with rendering his ministerial duties he was also able to write a number, of books in *fiqh* and literature, such as *Al-Īḍāḥ wa al-Tabyīn fī ikhtilāf al-A'immah al-Mujtahidīn, al-Ifṣāḥ 'an Ma'ānī aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* (2 volumes), and *Al-*

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*Muqtaṣid fī al-Naḥw* which has been commented on by Ibn Al-Khashshāb in four volumes. The famous Ḥanbalī scholar, Ibn Al-Jawzī, was his student and collected his sayings in a book. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Al-Wafayāt,* 2:246; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Ash-Shadhrāt,* 4:191; Ibn Taghrī, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, 5:369; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 9:222; Brock. S.I. 687-8.]

[191] Al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Āmr Ibn Tamī'm Abū 'Abdur-Raḥmān Al-Azudī (100/718-170/786), one of the greatest men of Arabic letters, the creator of the science of Arabic prosody, and the teacher of the most outstanding grammarian, As-Sibawayh, was born at Baṣrah, passed his life on small means, and died at Baṣrah. Naḍr Ibn Shumayyil said, "People have not seen anyone like Khalīl, nor has Khalīl seen anyone like himself." His writings include *Kitāb al-'Ayn, Ma'ānī al-Hurūf, Kitāb al-'Arūd an-Nuqaṭ wa ash-Shakal, Ash-Shawāhid, al-Qinā, An-Nagham* and *Jumlat Ālāt al-'Arab.* See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:172; Ibn An-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, 1:43, Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'* (ed.) Magoleoth, Cairo, 1925, 11:72-73; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 12:363, Kaḥḥalah, *Mu'jam Al-Muwallifīn,* 4:112.]

[192] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah:18; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah:13; Aḥmad, *Musnad* I:206.

[193] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, dhikr:61; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb:109; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, da'wat:67; Ibn Mājah, du'ā':3, 10, 15, 19, 63; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II:381, 404, 536.

[194] For Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī see note 136.

[195] Ibn Barrajān is Abū Al-Ḥakam 'Abdus-Salām, Ibn 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Al-Lakhmī (d. 536/1141) from Ishbilia (Spain). A Ṣūfī and a poet, he has a commentary on the Qur'ān on Ṣūfī lines which he could not complete, and another book, Sharḥ Asmā' Allah al-Ḥusnā. He died in Morocco. [See Ibn Shākir Al-Kutubī, Fawāt al-Wafayāt, ed. M. 'Abdul-Ḥamid, Cairo, An-Nahḍah, 1951, I:274; Ibn Ḥajar Al-'Asqalānī, Lisān al-Mizān, Hyderabad, IV:13; Az-Zarkalī, Al-A'lām, 4:129.]

[196] He is Shaykh al-Islām Abū Ismā'īl 'Abdullah Ibn Abī Manṣūr Muḥammad Al-Anṣārī Al-Harwī (39/ 1006-481/1088), from Ḥerat in Afghanistan. A highly learned Ḥanbalī scholar, great mystic and theorist of Ṣūfism, and the author of a biographical work on Ṣūfīs, his fame primarily rests on a small but very concise treatise on the states and the stages of sulūk, Manāzil As-Sā'irīn, on which a number of commentaries have been written. S. De Langier de Beaurecueil, D.P. has edited two of them, one by Al-Firkāwī, and the other by Al-Iskandarī (Cairo: Institute Francais d'Archeologie Orientale, 1953 and 1954) and has also published *Khawāja 'Abdullah Anṣārī Mystique Ḥanbalī* (Beirut, Imprimare Catholique, 1965) and other studies. Ibn Al-Qayyīm (d. 751/1350), the distinguished disciple of Ibn Taymīyyah, wrote a lengthy commentary on the

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*Manāzil* under the title: *Madārij as-Sālikīn* in three volumes (ed. M. Ḥāmid Al-Fiqī, Cairo, 1956).

[197] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ḥajj:425; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, jihād, 72; At-Tirmidhī, allifīn:41, 46; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan*, isti'ādh'ah:43; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, isti'dhān, 42; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭa*, isti'dhān:34; Aḥmad, *Musnad* I:256, 300, II: 144, 150, 401, 433, V:83.

[198] Al-Bukhhrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tawḥīd: 50, tawbah: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, dhikr: 2, 3, 20, 21, 22; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, allifīn: 131; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ādāb: 58; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 215, 216, 412, 435, 480, 482, 500, 509, 524, 534, III: 40, 127, 130, 138, 272, V:153, 155, 169.

[199] The *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier. See note 103.

[200] 'Abdullah Ibn Muḥammad Al-Miyānjī Ḥamādanī (d. 525/1131), a judge of Ḥamadān, hence his title, 'Ayn al-Quḍāt, was a Ṣūfī and disciple of Aḥmad Al-Ghazālī, the brother ofīmām Ghazālī. A distinguished writer in both Arabic and Persian, he had discussed his theosophic ideas in his books, most famous of which is *Zubdat al-Ḥaqā'iq*, for his biography see A. J. Arberry: *A Ṣūf I Martyr: The Apologia of 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Al-Ḥamadānī* (London, Allan and Unwin, 1969); see also Hellmut Ritter, *Da Meer der Seele* (Leiden, Brill, 1955).

[201] By Ibn Al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Taymīyyah means Fakhr ad-Dīn Ar-Rāzī, the famous Ash'arī theologian, philosopher, and commentator of the Qur'ān. [See his *Minhāj as-Sunnah*, ed. Dr. Rashād Salīm, Imām University, Riyadh, 1406/1986, vol. VII: 214, V: 433.] For Ar-Rāzī see note 35.

[202] Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbāl, *Kitāb Az-Zuhd*, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmīyyah, 1398/1978.

[203] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, fitan: 95; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, fitan: 56.

[204] Abū Al-Qāsim 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Aḥmad As-Suhaylī (508/1114-581/1185), historian, *muḥaddith*, grammarian, and a man of letters was born at Suhayl, near Malta in Spain. He was a student ofībn Al-'Arabī, the famous Mālikī scholar and author of the *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*. When the ruler of Morocco came to know about him he called him and honored him. Three years later, however, As-Suhaylī died. His writings include *Ar-Rawd al-Anif* a commentary on the *Sīrah* ofībn Hishām, *Al-Īḍāḥ wa at-Tabyīn limā Ubhima min Tafsīr al-Kitāb al-Mubīn*, and *Natā'ij al-Fikr*. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*: 1:280; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 4:137; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah*, 12:318-9; Kaḥḥalah, *Mu'jam Al-Muwallifīn*, 5:147.]

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[205] See Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* op. cit. p. 24; Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb,* p. 360.

[206] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 285.

[207] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 287.

[208] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 284.

[209] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 291; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 53:7, Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 157, 171, 175

[210] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* manāqib al-anṣār: 43, tafsīr: 17:9; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 17:5.

[211] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* mawāqit: 16:6, adhān: 129, tafsīr: 50:2, riqāq: 52, tawḥīd: 24, Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 19; At-Tirmidhī, jannah: 16; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 3:16, 17, 26, 27.

[211a] For Al-Khaṭṭābī see note 66.

[212] 'Urwah Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Mu'tab Ath-Thaqafī (d. 9/630), a distinguished Companion from Ṭa'if, embraced Islam at Makkah in early days, asked the Prophet for permission to return to his people and call them to Islam. The Prophet said that he had fears about his life. However, he returned to Ṭa'if and called his people to Islam, but they opposed him and one of them killed him. [See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz ash-Shabah,* Cairo, 1939, 5528; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 5:18.]

[213] Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddīq (50/573-13/634), the closest friend of the Prophet before and after Islam, the greatest of all the Companions and the first caliph, suppressed the apostasy of the Arabs after the Prophet's death, reestablished the rule ofīslam over Arabia, and at the suggestion of 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb got the Qur'ān collected and written in one volume (*muṣḥaf*).

[214] Ziyād (1/622-53/672), one of the great Umayyad governors, and a distinguished orator, was from Ṭa'if. The son of a slave woman, he embraced Islam during the reign of Abū Bakr, was secretary (*kātib*) to Mughīrah Ibn Shu'bah, and then to Abū Mūsā Al-Ash'arī, the governor of Baṣrah. 'Alī, the third caliph, appointed him governor of Faras (Iran). After 'Alī, Mu'āwīyah wrote to him that he was the son of Abī Sufyān, and hence his brother, and won him to his side. Mu'āwīyah made him governor over Baṣrah, Kūfah and the whole ofīraq. Ziyād held this post till his death. Ash-Sha'bī regards him the best orator in Arabic, and Aṣmā'ī credits bim with introducing Islamic coins of dirham and dinar with "Allah" on the face. [See Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 3:195;

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Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 6:163; Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl,* 1:355; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:89-90.]

[215] Mu'āwīyah Ibn Abī Sufyān Ibn Ḥarb Ibn Umayyah (d. 60/680), the founder of Umayyad rule and a great administrator, embraced Islam in 8 A.H. when Makkah was conquered. As a scribe of the Prophet, he wrote down some parts of the Qur'ānic revelations. He served as governor of Jordan at the time of 'Umar, and of the whole of Ash-Sham at the time of 'Uthmān. When 'Alī became caliph he did not submit to him, which lead to the battle of Ṣiffīn. After 'Alī, his son Al-Ḥasan handed over the government to him in 41 A.H. Mu'āwīyah ruled till his death in 60/680.

[216] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 18; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* ādāb al-quḍāt: I; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 11:166.

[217] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawḥīd: 55,15,23,28, bad' al-khalq: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawbah: 14-16; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* zuhd: 35, muqaddamah: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 243, 255, 260, 313, 358, 381, 397, 423, 466.

[218] The reference is to the *ḥadīth* which begins with the words, "Lord, You are the light of the heavens and the earth and what is there in them..." For the *ḥadīth* see Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tahajjud: I, da'wat: 9, tawḥīd: 8, 24, 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* musāfirīn: 199; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* witr: 25, ṣalāh: 119; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat: 29; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* qiyām al-layl: 9; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 18; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* ṣalāt: 169; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* Qur'ān: 34; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I:298, 308, 385, IV:269.

[218a] The *ḥadīth* runs as follows, "God will uncover His shin, and the (true) Believers, men and women, will prostrate themselves before it. Only those who used to prostrate in the world just to show or win fame would be left. They will try to offer prostration but their back would be like a board." [See Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawḥīd, 24, tafsīr: 68:2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 302; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* riqāq: 83; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 17.]

[219] For discussion see the extracts I: 9, 2: 23, 3: 1, 2.

[220] The tradition has appeared earlier; see note 74a.

[221] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 7:541.

[222] 'Abdullah Ibn Qays Ibn Salīm Abū Mūsā Al-Ash'arī (d. 44/665) an eminent Companion, was born at Zābid in Yemen in 602 A.D., came to Makkah, embraced Islam, and took part in battles. The Prophet appointed him the governor of Yemen, and later caliphs, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, appointed him

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governor at Baṣrah. He served on the tribunal appointed to decide the case between 'Alī and Mu'āwīyah. He died at Kūfah. He has narrated 355 *aḥādīth.*

[223] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, manāqib: 1, maghāzī: 74; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 82, 84, 88-90; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, manāqib: 71; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, muqaddamh: 14; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 235, 253, 258, 267, 270, 277, 280, 474, 480, 488. 503, 541.

[224] 'Uways Ibn 'Āmir Ibn Jāz' Ibn Mālik Al-Qarnī (d. 37/657), from the Banū Qarn tribe of Yemen was a great devotee and ascetic who lived away in the deserts. He was present at the time of the Prophet but could not see him. He visited Madinah at the time of 'Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph, went to Kūfah, lived there for some time, then fought on the side of 'Alī at the battle of Ṣiffīn, and probably was killed there. [See Ibn Sa'd, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt* al-*Kubrā*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1968, 6:111; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, 3:157, Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān* al-*I'tidāl*, 129; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 2:79, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 1:471; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, I: 375; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 1:471; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, I: 375.]

[225] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, jumu'ah: 48;-Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 223, nikāḥ 32; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 256, 379.

[226] Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, isti'dhān: 63; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 72, 392. See also Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 8; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb: 76; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 384, 394, 398.

[227] For Ibn 'Arabī see note 85. His *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyyah* has been published from Dār Ṣādir, Beirut, in four large volumes; Dr. 'Uthmān Yaḥyā is editing this large work, a small part of which has been published so far. His tracts have been published under the title, *Rasā'il Ibn* 'Arabī (Hyderabad, 1361 A.H.).

[228] The most authentic exposition of Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of the Unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) we have in his *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam, for* this passage see 'Affīfī's edition of the book (Cairo, Al-Ḥalābī, 1365/1946) p. 72.

[229] *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, op. cit. p. 187.

[230] ibid., p 179.

[231] ibid., p. 76.

[232] ibid., p. 183.

[233] ibid., p. 192.

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[234] ibid., p. 207.

[235] Ṣadr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq Al-Qunāwī, or Ar-Rūmī (d. 672/1273), the most outstanding disciple ofĪbn 'Arabī and interpreter of his philosophy, is the author of a number of books including *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb, Fukūk, An-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhīyyah,* besides a commentary on Sūrat Al-Fātiḥah [Jāmi', *Nafaḥāt al-Uns,* op.cit. pp. 504-6]

[236] Sulaymān Ibn 'Alī At-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291), a talented poet and a Ṣūfī, firmly believed in *waḥdat al-wujūd.* His *Diwān* consists of beautiful poems in which he sings of union and unity. He also wrote a commentary on the *Manāzil As-Sā'irīn* of Shaykh 'Abdullah Al-Anṣārī al-Harwī. He was charged with *zandaqah* and blasphemy (*ilḥād*); Jāmi', however, defends him on the grounds that what he has composed or said reflects his experience of union (*jām'*) rather than his faith. (Jāmi', *Nafaḥāt al-Uns,* op. cit. 517-18]

[237] Ibn 'Arabī's compatriot, Ibn Sab'īn (614/1217-669/1269) has a significantly different formulation of *waḥdat al-wujūd.* (See Dr. Abū Al-Wafā Al-Ghanīmī At-Taftāzānī, *Ibn Sab'īn wa Falsafatuhu,* Beirut, Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 19734.]

[238] 'Umar Ibn 'Alī Ibn Rushd Ibn 'Alī Sharf ad-Dīn Ibn Al-Fāriḍ (576/1181-632/1235), the greatest Ṣūfī poet is called the king of the lovers (*sulṭān al-'āshqīn*). His father moved from his home in Ḥumat in Syria to Egypt and settled down there. He was a man of learning and piety. Ibn Al-Fāriḍ was brought up in a religious family, studied Shāfi'ī *fiqh,* and learned *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Asākir, then took up a life of renunciation and practiced the Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah.* He spent some years in deserted mosques and hills, then went to Makkah and lived in its suburbs away from the public. After fifteen years, he returned to Egypt and lived in the lecture hall of Al-Azhar where people visited him. A man of good looks and clothing, he was very elegant in speech, generous and loving. Often he would visit small girls singing and beating drums, and would dance and abandon himself in ecstasy. Adh-Dhahabī says that he was the king of the poets of his time and leader of the monists. The collection of his poems has been commented upon by Ḥasan Al-Burinī and 'Abdul-Ghanī An-Nāblisī. Nicholson wrote a long chapter on his poetry and translated a famous ode of his in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (reprint, Idara Adbiyat, Delhī, 1976), and Dr. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Al-Hilmī has brought out a book on his life and thought, *Ibn Al-Fāriḍ wa al-Ḥubb al-Ilāhī,* Cairo, Dār Al-Ma'ārif, 1971. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* i:383;Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt,* 5:149-53; Adh-Dhahabī, *Lisān al-Mizān,* 4:317; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām:* 5:216.]

[239] 'Abdullah Ibn Mas'ūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Al-Ḥusaynī Al-Balyānī (d. 686/1288), a Ṣūfī and an adept in geomancy, is the author of *Miftāḥ al-Kunūz* and *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣaliḥīn.* [See Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Muwallifīn* 6:150; Ḥajī

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Khalīfah, *Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn,* 1770; Ismā'īl Baghdādī, *Hadyat al-'Ārifīn,* Istanbul, 1371/1951, 1:463.]

[240] For Sa'īd Ibn Al-Musayyīb see note 50.

[241] 'Umar Ibn 'Abdul-'Azīz Ibn Marwān Ibn Al-Ḥakam Al-Qārshī (61/681-101/720), the pious Umayyad caliph, often called the fifth righteous caliph, was born and brought up at Madinah, appointed governor of Madinah by Al-Walīd, and then governor of Syria by Sulaymān Ibn 'Abdul-Malik, whom he succeeded as caliph, according to the latter's will in 99/718. His reign was marked by peace and prosperity within the caliphate. He stopped the practice of abusing 'Alī in public and improved the religious life of the people. His reign was, however, very short, lasting only two and a half years. It is said that he died of poisoning. A number of writers have written on his life and reign, such as Ibn Al-Jawzī, Abdur-Ra'ūf al-Munnāwī, Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat, etc. [See Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 5:253-353; Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 5:22; Ibn Khaldūn, *History,* 3:76; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 8:137; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 5:209.]

[242] Mālik Ibn Anas Ibn Mālik (d. 179/795), the founder of the Mālikī school of *fiqh,* was the leader of the *ḥadīth* scholars of Madinah in his times. Besides a *muwaṭṭa',* a collection of *ḥadīth* which also contains the words of the Companions and the Successors, and forms the basis of the *fiqh* which he developed, his writings include a work on the Qur'ān, *Tafsīr Gharīb al-Qur'ān* which is no longer extant.

[243] Abū 'Umar Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn 'Āmr Al-Awzā'ī (88/707-57/774), the leader of the Syrians in *ḥadīth* as well as *fiqh,* lived and died at Beirut. He compiled a book on *ḥadīth,* and his *fiqh* dominated Spain upto the time of Al-Ḥakam Ibn Hishām (d. 207/822).

[244] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham Ibn Manṣūr (d. 160/777), a renowned ascetic and devotee came from an Arab family of Kūfah belonging to the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wā'il. The story that he was a prince of Balkh in Central Asia heard a heavenly voice admonishing him on his involvement in the world, left the palace and embarked upon the path of renunciation and devotion, is one of the legends which have grown around many a Ṣūfī. Ibrāhīm was a friend of the ascetic *ḥadīth* scholar Sufyān Ath-Thawrī (d. 161/778) and the Ṣūfī Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803), and is said to have participated in different jihād campaigns. [See for his life and ideas 'Abdur-Raḥmān Badawī, *Tārīkh at-Taṣawwūf al-Islāmī min al-Bidāyah,* Kuwait, Wakālat, pp. 218-39.]

[245] Abū 'Abdullah Sufyān Ath-Thawrī (97/716-161/778) called the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* in *ḥadīth,* was born and brought up at Kūfah, refused to accept the post of judge offered by the Abbasid caliph Al-Manṣūr, left Kūfah in 144/761

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and lived in Makkah and Madinah. Among his works there are two collections of *ḥadīth*, one large and one small.

[246] 'Abū 'Alī Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803), one of the great *mashā'ikh* of Khurasan, had a profound spiritual experience, gave up brigandry, came to Kūfah and devoted himself to learning *ḥadīth.* A number of *ḥadīth* scholars including Sufyān Ibn 'Uyanah and Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd Al-Qaṭṭān have narrated *ḥadīth* from him. Intensely pious, profoundly conscious of death, humble and sincere, Fuḍayl lived an admirable life of simplicity and devotion. He is an example of the early piety of *zuhd* and *'ibādah,* unaware of the experience of *fanā'* and *baqā'* which later Ṣūfīs began to have. [For his life and ideas see Abdur-Raḥmān Badawī, *Tārīkh Taṣawwūf al-Islāmī,* op. cit. 264-80.]

[247] Abū Maḥfūz Ma'rūfībn Firoz Al-Karkhī (d. 200/815) whose Christian parents embraced Islam at the hands of 'Alī Ibn Mūsā Ar-Riḍā, came from Karkh in the suburbs of Baghdad. Ibn Taymīyyah places him in the group of sober Ṣūfīs like Fudayl Ibn 'Iyād, Sariy As-Saqatī and Junayd whom he calls *mashā'ikh al-Islām* and *ā'immah al-Hudā.* [See *Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām,* Riyadh, vol. X, pp. 516-17.] [See also Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* op. cit. pp. 65-8; Ḥujwirī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb,* pp. 136 H; 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā',* (Tehran, n.d.), vol. I pp. 241-51.]

[248] For Ash-Shāfi'ī see note 36.

[249] For Abū Sulaymān Ad-Dārānī see note 14.

[250] Imām Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal (164/721-241/855), born at Marwa, brought up in Baghdad, devoted himself to the study and collection of *ḥadīth* from 179/795. Aḥmad laid down the foundation of a separate school of *fiqh,* expounded and defended the views of the Elders (*Salaf*) on basic issues of faith. His *Musnad* is the greatest collection of *ḥadīth,* containing more than thirty thousand *aḥādīth* and traditions. Besides, he has a book on *tafsīr,* another on *An-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh,* and a third on the refutation of the Jahmīyyah.

[251] Abū Naṣr Bishr Ibn Al-Ḥārith Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abdur-Raḥmān Al-Ḥāfī (150/767-227/841) a renowned ascetic and devotee and a reliable narrator of *ḥadīth,* was born at Marwa, lived at Baghdad and died there. Al-Māmūn, the famous, Abbasid caliph, said there was no one on earth of whom one should feel awe except Bishr Al-Hāfī. [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* I:90; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 2:183; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 8:336; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* 39-47; Az-Zarkalī *Al-A'lām,* 2:26.]

[252] For 'Abdullah Ibn Al-Mubārak see note 143.

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[253] Abū 'Alī Shaqīq Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Alī Al-Azudī Al-Balkhī (d. 194/810), a renowned Ṣūfī from Khurasan, was perhaps the first to expound Ṣūfī states and stages. He also participated in various jihād campaigns and died at the battle of Kolan in Tranxosania. [See As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* 61-66; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 8:58; Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl,* 1:449; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān,* 3:151; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:249.]

[254] For Junayd see note 86.

[255] For Sahl At-Tustārī see note 87.

[256] Abū 'Abdullah 'Āmr Ibn 'Uthmān Ibn Karab, Al-Makkī (d. 297/ 910), a scholar of the Qur'ān and Sunnah and a Ṣūfī of renown from Makkah, visited Isfahan and died at Baghdad. He wrote on Ṣūfism. [See As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* pp.200-6; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 10:291; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* b:93; Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* p. 132; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 5:252.]

[257] For Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī see note 136.

[258] Shaykh Muhīy ad-Dīn 'Abdul-Qāḍīr (471/1079-561/1164-6), the founder of the earliest and most popular Ṣūfī order, was born at Jilān in Iran. He came to Baghdad at the age of eighteen, devoted himself to the study of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and *fiqh,* and completed his *sulūk* under the direction of Shaykh Ḥammād Ad-Dabbās (d. 525/1130). He started delivering sermons at the age of fifty to which thousands of people thronged. His works include *Ghunyat At-Ṭālibīn, Futūh al-Ghayb,* and *Al-Fatḥ ar-Rabbānī.* Ibn Taymīyyah wrote a commentary on a part of the *Futūh al-Ghayb* [*Fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām,* Riyadh, vol. X pp. 482-9]; Shaykh 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawī (d. 1052/1642) translated and commented on it in Persian (Lucknow, Nawalkishore), and Prof. Walther Braune translated and studied it: *Die Futuh al-ghayb des 'Abdul-Qāḍīr* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1933.]

[259] Shaykh 'Adīy Ibn Musafir Ibn Ismā'īl Al-Hakkarī (467/1074-557/1162), the leader of the 'Adawīyyah Ṣūfīs, was born at Qār in the district of Bā'lbak, lived at Madinah for four years, and built a monastery in the hills of Hakkarah in the district of Mosul in northern Iraq, and devoted himself to worship and remembrance till his death. His *ṭarīqah* spread in Sudan and Iraq. Some people in his *ṭarīqah* have extreme views about him. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:316; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt,* 4:179; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 5:111.]

[260] Shaykh Abū Al-Bayān Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥawrānī (d. 551/1156), a learned Ṣūfī, was known for his remuneration. [See Aṣ-Ṣafaḍī, *Al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt,* Germany, 1959-62.]

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[261] Shaykh Abū Madyan Shu'ayb Ibn Al-Ḥasan At-Tilimsānī (d. 590/1194), a Spanish Ṣūfī of renown, passed his life at Fas and Hayah, and died at Tilimsan at the age of eighty. He had so many followers that Sulṭān Ya'qūb Al-Manṣūr feared him. Muhīy ad-Dīn Ibn Al-'Ara'ī, the famous mystic and expounder of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was among his disciples, and has talked about him a lot in his *Futūḥāt Makkīyyah.* [See Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt,* 4:303; Az-Zarkalī *Al-A'lām,* 3:244; Jāmi', *Nafaḥat al-Uns,* pp. 473-5.]

[262] I have not been able to trace him.

[263] He probably was Abū Al-Wafā Ṭāhir Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad (390/1000-476/1083), a scholar of Ḥanbalī *fiqh,* who used to teach *fiqh* and Qur'ān in the Mosque of Manṣūr at Baghdad. He was known for his piety and devotion, and remembered for his sermons. [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah, 2:24.]*

[264] Shaykh Arsalān Ibn Ya'qūb Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdur-Raḥmān, commonly known as Shaykh Raslān, an ascetic and Ṣūfī from Damascus, is the author of a book *At-Tawḥīd.* He was a sawyer and lived on his income from sawing wood of which he would give one third in charity. [See Ash-Sha'arānī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt,* 1:132; Hajī Khalīfah, *Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn,* 1:867; Az-Zarkalī *Al-A'lām,* 1:277.]

[265] Shaykh 'Abdur-Raḥīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajūn Ibn Muḥammad Al-Qinayī (d. 592/1196), a Ṣūfī and ascetic of repute, was born at Ceuta in West Africa, lived at Makkah for seven years and then settled at Qinā in upper Egypt where he is buried. He is known for his sayings on *tawḥīd* and mystical experiences. [See Az-Zarkalī *Al-A'lām,* 4:118.]

[266] Shaykh Mūsā Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdullah Al-Yuninī (460/1242-726/1326) a Ḥanbalī scholar of *ḥadīth* and history and a Ṣūfī, was born at Damascus and died at Baalbek. He abridged Abū Al-Muẓaffar's work *Mir'āt az-Zamān* and added another four volumes to it. He also wrote a book on the famous founder of the Qāḍirīyyah Ṣūfī order under the title, *Ash-Sharf al-Bāhir fī Manāqib ash-Shaykh 'Abdul-Qāḍīr Al-Jilānī.* [See Aṣ-Ṣafaḍī, *Al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt,* 26:145; Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-Durar al-Kāminah,* (ed. M. Sayyid Jād Al-Ḥaqq, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1966), 4:382; Ibn Al-Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:126; Al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'āt al-Jinān,* 4:75; Kaḥḥalah, *Mu'jam al-Muwallifīn,* 13:45-61.]

[267] Most probably he is Abū Zakarīyyah Yaḥyā Ibn Zakarīyyah Ibn Maḥjūbah Al-Qurasī (d. 677/1278), a jurist, Ṣūfī and a poet. He is credited with two books, *Sharḥ Asmā' Allah al-Ḥusnā,* and *Taqayīd Kathīrah fī al-Taṣawwūf,* besides a collection of poems. [See Kaḥḥalah, *Mu'jam al-Muwallifīn,* 13:198.]

[268] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ādāb:77, fitan:26, tawḥīd:17, jihād:178, anbiyā':3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* fitan 95:101, 109, malāḥim:14, sunnah:26; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan:56, 62; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan:33; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 1:176, 183, II:27,

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149, V1:140.

[269] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 203.

[270] He is Fakhr ad-Dīn Ar-Rāzī; see note 35 and 201.

[271] For the *ḥadīth* see Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 31, tafsīr: 30:3, qadr:11, tawḥīd:7; Muslim, qadr 13-15; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah 16; At-Tirmidhī, qadr 2; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 10; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* qadr:1; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II:248, 264, 287, 314, 398.

[272] See An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* ṭaṭbīq: 30, 31. See also Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* witr: 7, jihād: 184. maghāzī: 28, da'wat: 58; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid, 301, 303, 304, witr: 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 162, 167, 180, 191, 204, 207, 216, 218, 252, 259, 278, 282.

[273a] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 81; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* siyar: 15; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 308, 368, V: 268, 310.

[273] Al-Bukhārī, *Sunan,* aḥkām: 1; jihād: 109; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 32, 33; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* bay'a: 27; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 244, 253, 270, 313, 343, 386, 416, 467, 471, 511.

[274] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat: 69. At-Tirmidhī has rated this *ḥadīth* as *ḥasan,* fairly good.

[275] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh: 48, 54, janā'iz: 70, manāqib al-anṣār: 37; Muslim, masājid: 16; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* masājid: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI:51.

[276] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qiyāmah: 56.

[277] For Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ see note 247.

[278] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 403.

[279] Nafīsah bint Al-Haṣan Ibn Zayd Ibn Al-Haṣan Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Abi Ṭālib (d. 145/760-208/824), a great granddaughter of 'Alī, known for her piety and knowledge of the Qur'an and Sunnah, was born at Makkah, brought up in Madinah, and married Iṣḥāq Al-Mu'tamin Ibn Ja'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq, and settled in Cairo where she died and is buried. She knew a number of *ḥadīth* for which scholars of *ḥadīth* including Imām Shāfi'ī would visit her. She had memorized the Qur'ān, and had made *ḥajj* thirty times; Egyptians hold her in great esteem and visit her grave. [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 9: 16-17; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 2:169; As-Safadī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* 2:310.]

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[280] Probably he is Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Ḥusaynī, Abū Al-'Abbās Al-Badawī (d. 596/1200-675/1276). A renowned Ṣūfī of Egypt, he was born at Fāss in western Africa, traveled to various places, lived for some time at Makkah and Madinah, and entered Egypt at the time of King Aẓ-Ẓāhir Al-Babaras who went out along with his army to welcome him and kept him as his guest. Shaykh Aḥmad also visited Syria and Iraq, but most of his followers were in Egypt, where he died. He was buried at Tanta where his birth is celebrated every year. He did not write any book, however his teachings and the litanies he taught to his disciples have been compiled under the names *Hizb*, *Waṣaya*, and *Ṣalawāt*. Muḥammad Fahīm wrote a book on his life under the title, [See As-Sayyid Al-Badawī. [See Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 1:170; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt*, 5:354; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirah*, 7:252; Ash-Sha'rānī, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt*, 1:158.]

[281] For Shaykh 'Adīy see note 260.

[282] For Shaykh 'Abdul-Qāḍīr Al-Jilānī see note 259.

[283] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, istisqā': 3, faḍā'il aṣhāb an-nabī:11.

[284] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 326, 330; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, anbiyā':3; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 8; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 281, 295.

[285] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, anbiyā': 48; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, riqāq: 68; Aḥmad. *Musnad*, I: 23, 24, 47, 55.

[286] Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭa*, safar: 85; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 367.11 367.

[287] Abū Dāwūd, manāsik: 96; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II:367.

[288] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, masājid: 19, 23; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 72; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, masājid: 13, janā'iz: 106; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 120; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭa*, madīnah: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I:218. II: 260, 284, 285, 296, 396, 454, 518, V: 184, 186, 204, VI: 34, 80, 121, 146, 229, 252, 255, 274, 275.

[289] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 214, 224, 284, 347. See also Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb: 76; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, isti'dhān: 63; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 284, 294, 298.

[290] Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, isti'dhān: 63; Ibn Mājah. *Sunan*, kaffārat: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 72, 292.

[291] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, nikāḥ: 4; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, nikāḥ: 400; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, riḍā: 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 281, V: 228, VI: 76; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ṣalāḥ: 159.

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[292] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, nikāḥ: 40.

[293] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 73, 64; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 105, qiblah: 11; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 97, 98; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 57; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 135.

[294] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 28, 31; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, īmān: 19; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, nudhūr 2; An-Nasā'ī, īmān: 27, 28; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 16; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, nudhūr: 8; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI: 36, 41, 224.

[295] Al-Bukhārī, Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 7, II: 11, 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 142, III: 487, 26; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 118. See also Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, qadr: 6; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, nadhar: 4, 6; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*: 18; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, īmān: 24; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 15; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 69, 86, 235, 301.

[296] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, manāqib al-anṣār: 26, ādāb: 74, īmān:4, tawḥīd:13; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, īmān:4; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, nudhūr 9; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan* Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 2; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, nudhūr: 14; Ad-Dārimī, nudhūr.

[297] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, nudhūr: 9; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,*: 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 2; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*: 6; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 47, II: 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 152.

[298] 'Amr Ibn Luhayy Ibn Ḥārithah Ibn 'Āmr Ibn 'Amīr from the Azd branch of the Qahtanī clan, or from the Muḍar branch of the 'Adnānī clan, according to the others, is said to be the first man to change the monotheistic religion of Ismā'īl and call the Arabs to worship idols. 'Amr was the grandfather of Khuzā'ah, the head of that tribe, and the Custodian of the Sacred Mosque at Makkah. He went to Jordan where he found people worshipping idols, liked the idea, brought some idols from there, put them in the Ka'bah and urged people to worship them, and seek God's mercy through them. [See Ibn Al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Asnām* (ed. Aḥmad Zākī, Cairo, Al-Amīrīyyah, 1332/1914), p. 8; Al-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 5:25.

[299] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tafsīr: 5:13, manāqib: 9, al-'amal fī aṣ-ṣalah: 2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, jannah: 51, kusūf: 9, 10, 3; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, kusūf: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 46, II: 275, 366, III: 318, 353, 374, V: 137.

[300] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, masājid: 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 106; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 120.

[301] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣalāh: 48, 54, janā'iz: 70, manāqib al-anṣār: 37; Muslim, masājid: 16; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, masājid: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI:51.

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[302] This *ḥadīth* has occurred earlier; see note 288.

[303] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid: 19, 22; Al-Bukhārī janā'iz: 61, 96:

[304] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 405, 435, 454; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* fitan: 5.

[305] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 289.

[306] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 286a.

[307] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 93; Abū Dāwūd, janā'iz, 68; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 56; An-Nasā'ī, janā'iz, 99; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 96, 129.

[308] For both the traditions see Ibn Sa'd, *Aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā,* 2:16; 'Abdur-Razzāq, *Al-Muṣannaf,* 2:118; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Al-Muṣannaf* Bombay, Dār as-Salafīyyah, 1309/1902. 2:375; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī* (Cairo, Dār al-Rayyān, 1407/1986), 7: 448. Ibn Ḥajar has testified to the authenticity of these traditions.

[309] See note 308.

[310] 'Abdullah Ibn Qays Ibn Sulaym Ibn Ḥīdar Ibn Ḥarb, Abū Mūsā Al-Ash'arī (22 B.H./602-44/665), a distinguished Companion from the Ash'ar branch of the Qaḥṭānī clan, and an eminent army commander and administrator, was born at Zubayd in Yemen, came to Makkah and embraced Islam. He migrated along with others first to Abyssinia and then to Madinah, and participated in various battles. The Prophet appointed him governor at Zubayd and Aden, and 'Umar appointed him governor at Baṣrah in 17 A.H. In those days he conquered Isfahan and Ahwāz. 'Uthmān appointed him governor of Kūfah, but 'Alī removed him from the post when he declined to join him against Mu'āwīyah. He died at Kūfah. He has narrated 355 *aḥādīth.* [See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt,* 4:79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 4889; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 1:125, Abū Nu'aym, *Al-Ḥilyah,* 1:256; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4: 255.]

[311] For Ibn 'Umar see note 100.

[312] For Ibn Mas'ūd see note 39.

[313] Abū 'Abdur-Raḥmān Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal Ibn 'Āmr Ibn Aws Al-Anṣārī (d. 18/639), a great Companion of the Prophet from the Khazraj tribe of Madinah, participated in all the battles of Islam beginning with Badr. The Prophet appointed him *qāḍī* in Yemen. He died in Jordan and was buried at Al-Qasīr. He narrated 157 *aḥādīth.*

[314] Ubayy Ibn Ka'b Al-Anṣārī, one of the scribes of the Qur'ān who wrote down

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some parts of the Book at the Prophets bidding, taught the Qur'ān to many students at Madinah who distinguished themselves later, such as Zayd Ibn Aslam (136/753), Abū Al-'Alīyah (d. 90/709) and Ka'b Al-Qarzī (d. 118/783).

[315] Al-Bukhārī, *Sunan*, tafsīr, 2:1, riqāq:51, tawḥīd: 19; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 327; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 37.

[316] This *ḥadīth* is noted by Ibn An-Najjār at the report of Anas. Al-Albānī has counted it as weak (*ḍā'īf*); see his *Ḍā'īf al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr, ḥadīth* 3889.

[317] Musaylamah Ibn Thumāmah Ibn Kabīr Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 12/133) was born at a village now called Jubaylah in the district of Yamaāmah in the Banū Ḥanīfah tribe of Najd. After the conquest of Makkah when a delegation of Banū Ḥanīfah came to Madinah, Musaylamah was most probably with them, but he did not go to see the Prophet. The delegation embraced Islam, and the Prophet honored them. When they returned to their country Musaylamah wrote to the Prophet that he has been appointed prophet and that half of the earth has been given to his men just as the other half has been given to the Quraysh. The Prophet wrote in reply that the earth was God's and He gives it to whom He likes, and that he was simply a liar (*kadhdhāb*). Hence his title *Kadhdhāb*. This was in the year 10 A.H. When Abū Bakr was appointed caliph, he sent a great army under the command of Khālid Ibn Walīd, and after a most bloody battle in which twelve hundred Muslims were killed, Banū Ḥanīfah surrendered. Musaylamah was killed in the battle. [Ibn Hishām, 3:74; Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* (Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1399/1979), 2:137-40; Al-Bawdhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* (ed. Ridwān Muḥammad Ridwān, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyyah, 1398/1928): pp. 94-100; Az-Zarkalī, 8:125.]

[318] 'Usayhalah Ibn Ka'b Ibn 'Awf, Al-Aswad Al-'Anasī (d. 11/632), a Yemeni, was the first man to claim prophethood at the time of the Prophet. He used to perform wonders with which he won over the tribe of Madhhaj, and established his authority over Najrān, San'ā, Aden, Hadhramawt, Ṭā'if, Aḥsā and Bahrain. The Prophet sent a letter to the people in Yemen who were still loyal to him and believed in him. One of them rose up and killed Al-Aswad a month before the death of the Prophet. Al-Aswad called himself Raḥmān Al-Yaman, as Musaylamah called himself Raḥmān Al-Yamāmah. [See Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* op. cit.; Al-Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* op. cit. 111-13; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 5:299]

[319] Muḥammad Ibn Muslim Ibn 'Ubaydullah Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Shihāb Az-Zuhrī (51/671-124/741), a man of extraordinary memory and the most outstanding narrator and scholar of *ḥadīth* among the Successors, was the first to compile *ḥadīth.* He also wrote a book on the life of the Prophet which has been recently published. Al-Zuhrī was born and brought up in a Qarshī family of Madinah. Later he settled in Syria and died there.

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[320] For the first part that the dream of the Prophet is a waḥī, see Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, wuḍū': 5, adhān: 161; for the second part that the dream of a Believer is forty-sixth part of prophethood, see Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ta‘bīr: 2, 4, 10, 26; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, rū‘ya: 6, 7, 8, 9; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb: 88; At-Tirmidhī, Sunan, rū‘ya: 1, 3, 6, 10; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, rū‘ya: 1, 3, 6, 9; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, rū‘ya: 2; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, rū‘ya:1, 3; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 10, 50, 219, 20, 233, 269, 314, 343,-369, 438, 495, 507, IV: 10, 1, 11, 12, 13, V: 216, 219.

[321] This *ḥadīth* has been noted by Aṭ-Ṭabarānī in *Al-Kabīr* at the report of ‘Ubādah Ibn Thābit. However, Al-Albānī has rated it as weak (*ḍā‘īf*); see his *Ḍā‘īf al-Jāmi‘ aṣ-Ṣaghīr*, *ḥadīth* 3078.

[322] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah 6, anbiyā': 54; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 23; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, manāqib: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI:55.

[323] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 6, *ḥadīth* no. 3689.

[324] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bad' al-waḥī: 2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, fadā'il: 8 7, An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, iftitāḥ: 37; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭa*, Qur'an: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI: 158, 257.

[325] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bad' al-waḥī: 3; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, manāqib: 1; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, iftitāḥ: 37; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, Qur'ān: 7.

[326] Diḥyah Ibn Khalīfah Ibn Farwah Ibn Fuḍalah Al-Kalbī (d. 45/665), a Companion of the Prophet and a very handsome man, was sent by the Prophet to the Roman Caesar with his letter inviting him to embrace Islam. Dihyah participated in many battles, settled down at Mazzah in Damascus, and died during the caliphate of Mu‘āwīyah. [See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4:374; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*, 1:473; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A‘lām*, 3:14.

[327] *Mishkāt al-Anwār* is a work of Imām Ghazālī in which, commenting on the light verse (241:35), he develops his own mystical philosophy. [See ‘Affīfī's edition of the book (Cairo, Dār al-Qayyūmīyyah, 1382/1964) with his introduction.]

[327a] *Khal‘ an-Na‘layn* is the work of Ibn Qīssī, Abū Al-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Al-Ḥusayn, a Spanish Ṣūfī who (exercised great power over his followers, lead them against the ruling class, the *murabiṭūn*, but was defeated and killed in 546/1151. Ibn ‘Arabī held him in great esteem and commented on his book. [See ‘Affīfī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, op. cit. II:56.]

[328] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 79, jihād: 178, ādāb: 97, qadr: 14; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, fitan: 87, 95; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, malāḥim: 15; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 280, II: 148,

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III: 268.

[329] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bad' al-khalq: 6, 11.

[330] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān:124; At-Tirmidhī, tafsīr, 34:3; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 218.

[331] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 218.

[332] For Al-Aswad Al-'Ansī see note 18.

[333] For Musaylamah see note 317.

[334] Ḥārith Ibn Sa'īd or Ḥārith Ibn 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Sa'd Ad-Dimashqī was an ascetic given to worship and devotion. Later on he attracted followers showing them miracles, such as presenting the fruits of summer in winter and vice-versa, and claimed that he was a prophet. Abdul-Malik the Umayyad caliph (66/685-86/705) caught hold of him and hanged him for that sin. (See *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Ibn 'Asākir* (Rawdat Ash-Shām, 1330 A.H.), 3:442-45.

[335] Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Tarkhan Ibn Awzalugh, Abū Naṣr Al-Fārābī, (260/874-339/950) the greatest, or the second greatest Muslim philosopher was Turkish by origin, born at Farab (near the river Jahone), went to Baghdad where he devoted himself to reading and writing. Al-Fārābī visited Egypt, and then went to Sayf Ad-Dawlah at Damascus where he died. He knew various languages, probably including Greek. He expounded on and interpreted Aristotle's ideas and was therefore called the Second Teacher, Aristotle being the first. He was versed in almost all the sciences of the time, including music on which he wrote a big book, as well he invented a new musical instrument, the *kanūn*. His books go up to one hundred of which the most important are *Ara Ahl al-Madinah al-Fāḍilah* in which he expounded his own basic philosophy, and *as-siyasat al-Madanīyyah, Iḥṣā al-'Ulūm,* etc. A number of writers have written on his life and thought, such as Muṣṭafā 'Abū Ar-Razzāq, (*Faylasūf al-'Arab*), Ilyās Farah, Abbās Maḥmūd, M. Abdul-Haqq Anṣārī (Ethical Philosophy of Al-Fārābī, 'Aligarh, 1964). [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 2:76; Ibn Abī Usaybah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā,* 2:134-40; *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 1:407-12; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 7:242-43].

[336] For Ibn Sīnā see note 113.

[337] Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥabash Ibn Abrak, Abū Al-Futah Shihāb ad-Dīn Suhrawardī (549/1154-587/1191) an eminent logician philosopher, and the expounder of the philosophy of illumination was born at Suhraward a village in the district of Zanjan in 'Iriq, brought up at Muraqhah, and settled at Ḥalab where he was accused for his anti-Islamic ideas. Scholars of religion came out with a decree against him and condemned him. Al-Malik Aẓ-Ẓāhir put him in jail and killed

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him. He has expounded his ideas in a number of works such as *Hayakil an-Nūr, al-Mutaraht, Maqamat aṣ-Ṣufīyyah, At-Tanqihat, Ḥikmat al-Ishraq, Al-Ma'ārij, al-Lamḥāt,* and *Risālah fī I'tiqād al-Ḥukamā.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 2:161; Ibn Abī Usaybīyyah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭabbā,* 2:167-71; Al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'at al-Jinān,* 3:434; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān,* 3:156, Adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A'lām an-Nubalā',* 4:292, Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 9:170, Brockalmann, Gesch. I:564(437), S. I. 781.]

[338] For Shaykh 'Adīy see note 260.

[339] For Shaykh Aḥmad see note 281.

[340] For Shaykh 'Abdul-Qāḍīr Al-Jilānī see note 259.

[341] Shaykh Ḥayāt Ibn Qays Al-Ḥarranī (581/1185), a great Ṣūfī from Ḥarran (in northern Iraq) was known for his miracles and spiritual powers. Shaykh Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Farinī has said that he only knew four Ṣūfīs who would work wonders after their death just as they did in their life, Ma'rūf Karkhī, 'Abdul-Qāḍīr Al-Jilanī, Shaykh 'Aqīl Manijī and Shaykh Ḥayat Ḥarranī. Shaykh Ḥayat lived and died at Ḥarran. [See Jāmi', *Nafaḥat al-Uns,* op. cit. pp. 481-4.]

[342] The name printed in the text is probably wrong. The correct name is Sa'd ad-Dīn rather than Sa'd Al-Madīnī. His full name is Sa'd ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Al-Mu'iyyid Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Abī Al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Hammamayh (d. 650/1252). Shaykh Sa'd ad-Dīn learned the *ṭarīqah* from Najm ad-Dīn Al-Kubrā, and had a great number of disciples. First he lived at Ṣafah Qāsiyūn and then moved to Khurasan where he died at the age of sixty three. He was known for his exoteric as well as esoteric knowledge and was the author of many books such as *Kitāb Maḥbūb* and *Sajanhāl.* Jāmi' writes that his books deal with abstruse ideas and are full of allusions, and figures. [See Jāmi', *Nafaḥāt al-Uns,* op. cit. 383-386.]

[343] He is Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī, for him see note 111.

[344] Abul-Faḍl Iyāḍ Ibn Mūsā Ibn 'Iyāḍ Ibn 'Āmrūn (477/1083-544/114b), a distinguished scholar of Spain, and the leading authority on *ḥadīth* in his time, served as *qāḍī* at Sibtah, then Granada, and died in Morocco. His writings include *Ash-Shifā'* on the Prophet's life, a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, a popular selection of *ḥadīth,* a manual on the terminology of *ḥadīth, Al-Ilmā' ilā Ma'rifat ar-Riwāyah,* and some books an the Mālikī *fiqh.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* I:392; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*: 5:28.]

[344a] For Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-'Āmidī see note 25.

[345] The author of the article on the Ismā'īlīyyah in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of*

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*Islam* (p. 179) thinks that the story that the sect was founded by 'Abdullah Ibn Maymūn Al-Qaddāḥ (d. ca. 210/825) is a legend, for the genuine Ismā'īlī literature preserves almost no memory of 'Abdullah Ibn Maymun. I could not find any further information about him in the *Maqālāt* literature or other sources.

[345a] For Rafḍ see note 82.

[346] For Ibn Kullāb see note 14.

[347] For Ibn Karram, see note 123.

[348] For a full discussion of this point, see Abū Al-A'lā Mawdūdī, *Tafḥīm al-Qur'ān,* under the verse 22:52-54.

[349] Mālik *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* sahw: 2

[350] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh: 31; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid: 90, 92, 93, 94; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 189, 190. An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* sahw: 25, 26; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 129, 133; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 279, 42, 424, 438, 448, 455.

[351] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh:11; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh:36; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* manāqib, 1; An-Nasā'ī, adhān:37; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II:168, 265, 365, III:83.

[352] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 43; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 37; iqāmah: 25; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III:254.

[353] An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* adhān: 37, sahw: 55; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 168, 272, 275, 485.

[354] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* istisqā': 3, faḍā'il aṣhāb an-nabī: 11.

[355] During *ḥajj,* the pilgrim stays for the night at Muzdalifah on his way from 'Arafah to Minā, and offers prayers. The whole of Muzdalifah is the *mash'ar al-ḥarām.* [See Ibn 'Umar's statement on this in Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm,* op. cit. 1: 242.]

[356] Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ja'far Ibn Ḥamdan Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Qudūrī (362/973-428/1037), a renowned Ḥanafī jurist, and leader of the Ḥanafīs of Iraq in his time, was born at Baghdad where he lived and died. His fame rests on a short manual of Ḥanafī *fiqh* which is called after his name *Al-Qudūrī,* and is regarded as the most authentic exposition of the approved views of the school. His other works are *At-Tajrīd* in seven parts on the differences between the schools of Abū Ḥanīfah and Ash-Shāfi'ī, and *Kitāb an-Nikāḥ.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1:21; Al-Qarshī, *Al-Jawāḥīr al-Muḍ'ah fī Ṭabaqāt al-*

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*Hanafīyyah,* Hyderabad, 1332, 1:93; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, *An-Nujūm aẓ-Ẓāhirah,* 5:24, Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām* I:206.]

[357] See note 354

[358] At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* da'wat: 118; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah 189; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 128.

[359] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan* sunnah: 20; At-Tirmidhī, thawāb al-Qur'ān: 24; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 13; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 5; Aḥmad, *Musnad*: III: 322, 339, 390.]

[360] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 23; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* musāfirīn:228, 229; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* Qur'ān: 8; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* iftitāḥ: 37; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* riqāq: 32, faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 4; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I:382, 417, 422, 439, 463.

[361] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* thawab al-Qur'ān: 18; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 1; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 223.

[362] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 129; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 92, 93, 94; 'Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 81; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 45; Mālik *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* jihād: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad:* II: 6, 7, 10, 55, 62, 76, 128.

[363] For Abū Bakr Al-Marwazī see note 173.

[364] For Abū Bakr Al-Khallāl see note 179.

[365] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bad' al-waḥī: 41. nikāḥ: 5, ṭalāq: 11, manāqib al-anṣār: 45. 'itq: 6. aymān: 23, hiyal: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 155; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṭalāq: 11; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-jihād:16; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* ṭahārah*: 59,* ṭalāq*: 24.* aymān*:* 19; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* zuhd*:* 26; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I:25.

[365a] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawḥīd*:* 52; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* witr: 20; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* iftitāḥ: 83; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 176; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 34; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 282, 296, 304.

[366] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier. See note 359.

[367] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tawḥīd: 44; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* witr, 20; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 171, faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 34; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 172, 175, 179. See also Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 176; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 146, 150, 153.

[368] This is the first half of the first line of the famous ode of the greatest poet of pre-Islamic Arabia, Imrā' al-Qays.

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[369] He is Imām Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī, for whom see note 111.

[370] Ja'd Ibn Dirham (d. 118/736), believed that man had no freedom of will, that the Qur'ān was created, that God did not speak to Moses, nor took Abraham as His intimate friend (*khalīl*). On account of these blasphemies, Khālid Al-Qasrī, the governor of Iraq killed him. Ja'd has exercised great influence on Al-Jahm Ibn Ṣafwān, the founder of the Jahmīyyah school of theology [See Ibn Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 5: 160; Ibn Taghrī, *An-Nujūm az-Zāhirah,* 1:322.]

[371] Abū Al-Haytham Khālid Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Yazīd Ibn Asad Al-Qasrī (66/686-126/743), a renowned writer famous for his generosity, was born at Damascus in a Yemenī family. He was appointed governor of Makkah in 89 A.H. by Al-Walīd Ibn 'Abdul-Malik, and then governor of Iraq by Hishām Ibn 'Abdul-Mālik in 105 A.H. In 120 A.H. Hishām replaced him by Ḥajjaj Ibn Yūsuf Ath-Thaqafī who put him in jail and killed him. {See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 1: 243; Yāqūt Al-Ḥamwī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān,* Cairo, Maṭba'at As-Sa'ādah, 1323 A.H., 4:387; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 2:338.]

[372] For Ibn Kullāb see note 14.

[373] Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥusayn Ibn Bundar, Abū Al-'Izz Al-Qalansī (435/1043-521/1127), an Iraqi scholar of Qur'ānic recitation, was, born at Wāsiṭ near Baṣrah where he lived taught and died. He wrote various books on the recitation of the Qur'ān, such as *Irshād al-Mubtadī wa Tadhkirat al-Muntahī fī Qir'āt Al-'Ashr, Risālah fī Qir'āt ath-Thalāth,* and *Al-Kifāyat al-Kubrā.* [See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 2:69; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 9:90; Aṣ-Ṣafaḍī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:3; As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt Ash-Shafi'īyyah,* 3:56; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 6:333.]

[374] For the Salīmīyyah see note 19.

[375] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier. See note 359.

[376] This *ḥadīth* has also appeared earlier. See note 365a

[377] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 176; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 19,20.

[378] For the Hishāmīyyah see note 162.

[378a] For the Karrāmīyyah see note 6.

[379] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* wuḍū': 55, 56, janā'iz: 89, ādāb: 46, 49; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṭahārah:

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[380] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid, 128-30; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat: 114, 132; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 26; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 86; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 237.

[381] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 32; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 27; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 25; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 15; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 54; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* Janā'iz: 37; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 39, 107, 255.

[382] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* da'wat: 37; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid: 125; An-Nasā'ī: *Sunan,* janā'iz: 115; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V1: 362.

[383] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tafsīr, 14:2; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 114; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III:4.

[384] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 68, 87; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jannah: 71, 72; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 74, sunnah: 24; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 108-110; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 272, 451, III: 126, 233, 234, IV: 296, V: 197, 453.

[385] These are not exactly the words of the Prophet. But the idea that the grave is widened for the comfort of the Believer and narrowed to the discomfort of the non-believers is expressed in many *aḥādīth.* See for example the *ḥadīth* of Al-Barā' Ibn 'Āzib in Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* no. 47453, 4754; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 4: 287, 288; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* 1: 494; An-Nasā'ī, 4: 78. Similarly, the idea that the Believer and the non-believer will be interrogated in the grave is found in many *aḥādīth.* See for example: Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janazah: 67, 68; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* al-jannah: 70, 73.

[386] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jannah: 15, 16, 18, 19; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* zuhd: 39; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* riqāq: 104; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 222, 252, III: 216, 249, 254, 264, 284.

[387] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 8, tafsīr: 5: 14, 15, 21:2, riqāq: 45; Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, jannah; 58; At-Tirmidhī, Sunan, qiyāmah: 3, tafsīr: 21:4; An-Nasā'ī, Sunan, janā'iz: 119; Aḥmad, Musnad, V:3.

[388] For Abū Bakr 'Abdul-'Azīz see note 137.

[389] For Abū Al-Ḥasan At-Tamīmī see note 117.

[390] For Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā see note 28.

[391] 'Umar Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Ismā'īl, Abu Ḥafṣ Al-Barmakī (d. 387/997), a Ḥanbalī jurist of Baghdad, wrote a number of books on the Ḥanbalī fiqh, such as *Al-Majmū'* and *Sharḥ ba'ḍ Masā'il al-Kusaj.* [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:153; Al-Khaṭīb Al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād,* 11:268;

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Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 5:196.]

[392] Abū Sulaymān has been mentioned along with Abū Ḥātim Al-Bistī (d. 354) as the followers of Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Ash'arī, the famous theologian. [See Ibn Taymīyyah, *Minhāj as-Sunnah*, (ed. Dr. Rashād Salīm, Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University, Riyadh, 1406/1986; vol. II. p. 3217.]

[393] For Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī see note 136.

[394] 'Abd Manāf Ibn 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim, Abū Ṭālib (d. 3 B.H./620), father of 'Alī, the third caliph, and uncle of the Prophet was an eminent figure of Banū Hāshim. He looked after the Prophet since he was a young boy, took him on his trade journey to Ash-Shām, loved him like his own sons, defended him when he began preaching Islam, even suffered for him three years of social and economic boycott which the Quraysh had imposed on the Banū Hāshim, yet did not embrace Islam for fear that the Quraysh would taunt him. (See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1:74, Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:34; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 4:315.]

[395] 'Abdul-Uzza Ibn 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim, Abū Lahab (d. 2/624), an eminent figure among the Quraysh, and an uncle of the Prophet, but dead against him and his religion. He and his wife opposed the Prophet tooth and nail, misled people about him, incited them against him and his followers, even asked their sons to divorce his daughters they had married. He was called Abū Lahab, the father of glowing fire, since he had a very fair complexion. He was very rich, but extremely miserly and cowardly. He did not participate with other Makkans in the battle of Badr, but met his death shortly after it. [See Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 2:25; Adh-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 1"84; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 4:135]

[396] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, qadr: 3, janā'iz: 93; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, qadr 23, 24, 26, 28, sunnah: 17; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 60; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, janā'iz: 52; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 244, 253, 259, 268, 315, 347, 393, 464, 471, 481, 518, V: 73, 410.

[397] For Ibn Al-Jawzī see note 24.

[398] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ta'bi: 48 ḥadīth 7047.

[399] Ibn Ḥabbān, *Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Madīnah al-Maktabah As-Salafīyyah), 9:226. See also Ibn Qayyīm, *Aḥkām Ahl adh-Dhimmah* (ed. Dr. Ṣabḥī Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ, Damascus, 1381/1961), 2:654; and *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa Bab as-Sa'ādatayn* (ed. Muhīy ad-Dīn Al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, Al-Maktabah As-Salafīyyah, 1375/1955) p. 573; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, (Cairo, Dār A-Rayyān, 1407/1986), 3:246.

[400] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, riqāq: 52

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[401] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, jannah: 18.

[402] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 297; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, jannah: 16, tafsīr, 10:1; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 13; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, riqāq: 81.

[403] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb: 61; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 245.

[404] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, jannah: 18, 19; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, riqāq 74; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 153, 158, 169, 228, 236.

[405] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṭahārah: 14, 15; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, mawāqīt: 46; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṭahārah: 79, 106; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 229, 400, 414, 506 and also I: 402, 407.

[406] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-muḥsar, 9, 10; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ḥajj: 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, manāsik: 3; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, manāsik: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 229, 410, 484, 494.

[407] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, jumu'ah: 79, Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 7, II: 11, 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 142, III: 487: Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, zakāh: 23; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, fitan: 13, zuhd: 23; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 321, 396, V: 231, 237, 243.

[408] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'umrah: 119; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, jihād: 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 220.

[409] Abū Dāwūd *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 124.

[410] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 21; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, riqāq: 12; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 373, 441.

[411] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, waṣīyyah: 14; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, waṣīyyah: 14; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, aḥkām: 36; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 372.

[412] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, marda: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, birr: 52; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 1; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 303, 335, IV: 18, 24, 48, 61, 81.

[413] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI: 51.

[414] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 21; Ibn Mājah, janā'iz, 59.

[415a] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier. See note 412.

[415] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 105, 106; Abū Dāwūd. *Sunan*, janā'iz: 77; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 101; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 48; Aḥmad, *Musnad:* 441.

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[416] At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* janā'iz 60; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ashribah: 7; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 100; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 47; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 145, 452, III: 28, 63, 237, 250, V: 350, 355, 357, 359, 361. See also Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* ḍaḥaya: 8.

[417] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 17.

[418] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 93; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* janā'iz, 68; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 56; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* janā'iz, 99; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 96, 129.

[419] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ādāb: 115; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 7, II: 11, 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 142, III: 487:

[420] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 358.

[421] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 7, II: 11, 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 142, III: 487. Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 27, 78. See also Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 1, riqāq: 51; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* jahannam: 12; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* riqāq: 121.

[422] *Faḥāsh* literally means abominable, obscene, vile. In the Qur'ān it is used for adultery, fornication, homosexuality, nudity, slander, and marrying a step-mother. In *ḥadīth* it is used for theft, drinking wine, and begging. In short, it refers to all shameful deeds.

[423] The name of Īmām Aḥmad's book is *Ar-Radd 'alā Az-Zanādiqah wa al-Jahmīyyah.* It was first published by Dr. 'Alī Sāmī An-Nashshār along with some other tracts by different authors under the title *'Aqā'id as-Salaf* (Alexandria, Al-Ma'ārif, 1971). It was then edited by 'Abdur-Raḥmān Umayrah and published by Dār Al-Liwā', Riyadh, in 1397/1977.

[424] I have not been able to trace him. Probably he was a Murji'ī, but his name is not mentioned among the Murji'ah in the *Maqālāt* literature.

[425] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 233, 269,323, 327; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr (fī at-tarjumah). Al-Albānī considers the *ḥadīth* to be weak (*ḍa'īf*). See his *Ḍa'īf al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr,* 5738. But Shaykh Aḥmad Shākir has discussed the issue at length and called the *ḥadīth* authentic. See *Sunan At-Tirmidhī* (Hims publication) 0:146.

[425a] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* shuf'ah: 2; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* buyū': 73; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* aḥkām: 33; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* buyū':109; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* shuf'ah: 2, 3: Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 389,390, VI: 10, 390.

[426] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 3, hibah: 35' maẓālim: 24, 28, 'aqīqah: 2, birr: 38; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 57, 58; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ādāb: 160, zakāh: 42, sunnah:

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14; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* īmān 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* d, *Musnad,* I: 7, II: 11, 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 142, III: 487. mad, *Musnad,* I: 7, II: 11, 24, 67, 69, 87, 98, 125, 142, III: 487.: 6; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah, 9, ādāb: 7, 9; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 279, 445, V: 17.

[427] See Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 37, tafsīr 31: 2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 57; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 27, 51, 53, 2!6, II: 107, 426, 1V: 129, 164.

[428] See note 428 above.

[429] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 135.

[430] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier. See note 427.

[431] For example: "Bashfulness (*al-ḥayā*) is a part of *īmān*" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān:59) People said, "God and His Prophet know better." The Prophet said, "To witness that there is no god other than Allah, and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah, to establish *ṣalāh,* to pay *zakāh* to fast during Ramaḍān, and to give one fifth of the booty" (Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 40); and "To love the Anṣār is the sign of *īmān*" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 128)

[431a] For example, "He does not have faith whose neighbor is not safe from his tresspasses (Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ādāb 29; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 73), or "You will not have faith unless you love each other" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 93; Abū Dāwūd, īmān, ādāb: 131).

[432] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* adhān: 95, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh:34, 38, 40, 41; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 122.

[433] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 135, 154, 210, 251.

[434] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 135, 154, 210, 251.

[435] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan 3.

[436] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ādāb: 29; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 73; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qiyāmah: 60; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 387, II: 288, 336, 373, III: 154, IV: 31, VI: 385.

[437] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 93; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ādāb: 131; At-Tirmidhī,īmān, ṣifat al-qiyāmah: 54, isti'dhān: 1; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 9, ādāb: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 165, 167, II: 391, 443, 477, 495, 512.

[438] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 8, aymān: 3; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 69, 70;

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An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, īmān: 19, Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 9; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 177, 207, 275, 278. IV: 336.

[439] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 7; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 71, 72; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, qiyāmah: 59; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, īmān: 19, 33: Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: *9*, janā'iz: 1; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, isti'dhān: 5, riqāq: *29;* Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 86, III: 176, 206, 251, 272, 278, 289.

[440] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 164; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, buyū': 50; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, buyū': 72; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, tijārat: 36; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, buyū': 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 50, 242, 417, III: 466, IV: 45.

[441] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 430.

[442] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*,īmān: 64, 65; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, jihād: 2; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, qiyāmah: 52, īmān: 12; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, īmān: 8, 9, 11; Ad-Dārimī riqāq: 4, 8; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 160, 163, 187, 191, 192, 195, 205, 266, 209, 212, 215, 224, 309, III: 154, 372, 391, 440, IV: 114, 285, VI: 21, 22.

[443] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 219, IV: 325.

[444] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 9, 14, ikrāh: 1, ādāb: 42; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 66; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, īmān: 3, 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, fitan: 23; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 102, 114, 172, 174, 230, 248, 275, 288.

[445] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, nikāḥ: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 74, 79; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ṣawm: 36; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, ṣiyām: 9; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, VI: 67, 122, 156, 226, 245.

[446] The *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 439.

[447] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah: 14; At-Tirmidhī, Sunan, īmān: 6; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, riqāq: *74; Aḥmad, Musnad*, II: 250, 472, 527, Vī 47, 99.

[448] 'Āmr Ibn Ḥabīb is really 'Āmr Ibn Samrah Ibn Ḥabīb, as Ibn Ḥajar has mentioned in his *Al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz aṣ-Ṣaḥabah* (5808). Ibn Ḥajar has given no further details, nor could I get anything from other sources.

[449] For Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal see note 313.

[450a] The ninth and the tenth reasons have not been mentioned by Ibn Taymīyyah.

[450] See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓim* (Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1405/1984), vol. II: 61.

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[451] He is ‘Aṭā’ Ibn Ribāḥ (27/280-114/732) a student of ‘Abdullah Ibn ‘Abbās, the Commentator of the Qur’ān, in *tafsīr*. He was also a most distinguished *faqīh* of his time at Makkah.

[452] Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Al-Marwazī (202/817-294/906), a great scholar of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, was most knowledgeable on the views of the Companions and the Successors on various issues. He was born at Baghdad, brought up at Nishapur, traveled a lot, and finally settled down at Samarqand and died there. He wrote many books such as *Al-Qasamah* about which Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣayrafī has said that if he had not written any other book he would have been regarded the most eminent *faqīh* on its basis. His other books are: a *Musnad* in *ḥadīth*, and another entitled, *Ma khalafa bihā Abū Ḥanīfah wa Ibn Mas‘ūd*. Al-Maqrīzī has abridged his three other books *Qiyām Layl, Qiyām Ramaḍān* and *Witr* in one volume. [See Adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*, 2: 201; Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, 3:315; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 6:63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb At-Tahdhīb*, 9: 489; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A‘lām*, 7: 346.]

[453] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān:197; At-Tirmidhī: *Sunan*, tafsīr, 6:4.

[454] See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘Aẓīm*, op. cit. vol. III p. 444.

[455] Abū Dāwūd *Sunan*, ṭibb: 24; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, siyar: 46; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṭibb: 43; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 386, 438, 440.

[456] Khurrāmīyyah are the followers of Babak Al-Khurrāmī, a leader of the Bāṭinīyyah. Babak was based in the hills of Al-Badīn in Azerbaijan. His followers, who were numerous, killed a number of Muslims and took away Muslim women. The Abbasid ruler Al-Mu‘tasim waged war against them, killed Babak and took many of his followers captive. [See Ash-Shahristānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, 1:216; Ibn An-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, pp. 342-44; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 8:11-55; Al-Badawī (ed.) *Faḍā’ih al-Bāṭinīyyah* of Al-Ghazālī, pp. 14-16.]

[457] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, shahādat: 28; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 107, 109; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, īmān: 14.

[458] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 24, jizyah: 17, *maẓālim* 17; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 102; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, īmān: 14; An-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, īmān: 20; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 189.

[459] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, imārah: 158; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, jihād 17; An-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, jihād: 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 374.

[460] Al-Miqdad Ibn ‘Āmr, Abū Ma‘bad Al-Hadamī (37/653) was often known as Ibn Al-Aswad since he was adopted as son by al-Aswad Ibn ‘Abd Yagūth of Makkah when he came there from Hadhramawt. An eminent Companion of the

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Prophet and one of the seven first men to embrace Islam in Makkah, he was a brave soldier and horse rider, and participated in the battle of Badr and all other battles. He narrated 48 *aḥādīth.* (See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah: 8185*; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 1:167; Abd Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awaliyā',* 1:172; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 8:208)

[461] For Qatādah see note 53. For the various names of the *sūrah* see Az-Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq At-Tanzīl,* (Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.) vol. II:171.

[462] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 21; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 302, 320.

[463] For Muḥammad Ibn Naṣr Al-Marwazī see note 453.

[464] For Ibn Qutaybah see note 68.

[465] He is Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Umar Ibn Ḥamdān Ibn Shaqalla, Abū Isḥāq Al-Bazzār (396/1018) [See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2: 128-139.

[466] Muḥammad Ibn Isḥāq Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā, Ibn Mundah Al-Isfahānī (310/922-395/1005), one of the great scholars of *ḥadīth* and its collectors, wrote a number of books on the subject such as: *Fatḥ al-Bāb fī Kunnā wa al-Alqāb, Ma'rifat aṣ-Ṣaḥābah,* and *At-Tārīkh al-Mustakhraj min Kutub An-Nās,* in which he wrote about 1,700 narrators of *ḥadīth.* In theology he wrote *Ar-Radd 'alā al-Jahmīyyah,* and *At-Tawḥīd wa ma'rifat asmā' Allah 'azza wa jalla wa ṣifatihi 'alā al-ittifāq wa al-taffarud.* See Ibn Abī Ya'lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:167; *Al-Mizān,* 5:7; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 6:253; Brockalmann S.I. 281.]

[467] I have not been able to trace him.

[468] Isḥāq Ibn Muḥammad, Abū Ya'qūb An-Nahrjūrī (d. 330/941), a learned Ṣūfī from Nahrjūr near Al-Aḥwaz in Iran, and a friend of Junayd Al-Baghdādī, passed years in Makkah beside the Sacred Mosque and died there. His words which have been preserved by Al-Qushayrī in his *Risālah* and As-Sulāmī in his *Ṭabaqāt* speak of his regard for the Shari'ah. [See Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah,* 167-9; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt As-Ṣūfīyyah,* 378-82; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 1: 288.]

[469] For Qāḍī Abū Ya'lā see note 28.

[470] Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad Ibn 'Īsā Al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890), one of the leading Ṣūfīs of Baghdad, learned Ṣūfīsm from Dhu Al-Nūn (d. 246/861 and Sarīy As-Saqatī (d. 257/871). According to Jāmi', he was the first Ṣūfī to discuss the concept of *fanā* and *baqā.* [See Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* p. 140; Jāmi', *Nafaḥāt al-Uns,* 75-8; Hujwirī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (ed. V.A. Zukovsky, Tehran, 1926), pp. 180-82; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya al-Awliyā',* X: 246-9; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,*

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228-32.]

[471] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i'tiṣām: 6; Muslim, faḍā'il: 130; ḥajj: 412; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ḥajj: 1, Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 1.

[472] For Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī see note 131.

[473] For Ibn Al-Khaṭīb see note 201.

[474] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tafsīr: 92:4, 5, 7, qad; tawḥīd: 54; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qadr: 3; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 10.

[475] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* 160; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 27, IV: 67, VI: 441. See also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: 8; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 292.

[476] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tafsīr, 92: 2-5, 7, ādāb: 120, qadr: 4, tawḥīd: 54; Muslim, qadr: 6-8; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qadr 3, tafsīr, 11:3; Ibn Mājah, muqaddamah: 10, tijārat:2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 6, 29, 82, 129, 133, 140, 157, II: 52, 17, III: 293, IV: 67, 431.

[477] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: 6, 7; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 92; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 82, 129, 133, 140, 157.

[478] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ṭibb: 21, qadr: 12; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ṭibb: 1; Aḥmad,*Musnad,* III: 421.

[479] For Al-Jahm see note 75.

[480] He probably was Ṣāliḥ Ibn 'Āmr Aṣ-Ṣāliḥī, one of the leaders of the Ṣāliḥīyyah sect of theologians who combined the ideas of the Qadarīyyah and the Murji'ah. [See Ash-Shahristānī, *Al-Milal wa An-Niḥal* (Cairo, Al-Ḥalabī, 1968), 1:145; and Al-Ash'arī, (ed. Helmut Ritter, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980), 1:198.]

[481] For Al-Ash'arī see note 27.

[482] For Ibn 'Arabī see note 85.

[483] For Ibn Sab'īn see note 237.

[484] Abū Ya'qūb As-Sajistānī, a great Ismā'īlī missionary, and philosopher is the author of *Kitāb Ithbāt an-Nubūwwah* (ed. 'Arif Tamir, Beirut, Catholic Press, 1966) in theology and *Al-maqālid al-Malakutīyyah* which Ibn Taymīyyah has referred to at various places. Our sources, however, are silent about his life. It appears that he was alive in the year 360/971. [See the Introduction by 'Arif

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Tamir to his publication of the *Ithbāt an-Nubūwwah,* p. z.]

[485] Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* op. cit. X:278; Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah,* op. cit. p. 106.

[486] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* riqāq: 38; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 256.

[487] *Istikhārah* literally means to seek good, to ask for the best. *Ṣalāt al-istikhārah* is the prayer which the Prophet taught in order to seek God's guidance regarding a course of action one should take, or a thing one should strive for when one is bewildered or does not know what to do. For details see Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* taḥajjud: 25, da'wat: 49, tawḥīd: 10; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* witr: 18; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 188; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 3441.]

[488] He probably was Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullah Ibn Muḥammad At-Tunisī (627/1230-699/1300), a Ṣūfī and devotee versed in the Mālikī *fiqh, ḥadīth* and *tafsīr,* went to Egypt and achieved fame. He died in Tunis. [See Ibn Mulqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā'* ed. Nūr ad-Dīn Sharībah, Cairo, Al-Khanjī, 1393/1973), pp. 430-31.]

[489] I have not been able to trace him.

[490] For Ibn Mundah see note 467.

[491] Shaykh al-Islām Abū 'Umar Yūsuf Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdul-Barr (368/978-463/1071), a distinguished scholar of *ḥadīth,* eminent Mālikī jurist, and historian from Cordova in Spain. His writings include *Al-Isti'ab fī ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb,* a biographical work on the Companions of the Prophet, *At-Tamhīd li ma fī al-Muwaṭṭā min al-Ma'ānī wa al-Asnād,* a commentary on Imām Mālik's *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* and *Jāmi' Bayān al-'Ilm wa Faḍilah.*

[492] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 55; At-Tirmidhī, da'wat: 88.

[493] Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* Qur'ān: 32, ḥajj: 246.

[494] He is the famous monist Ṣūfī Ibn 'Arabī, for whom see note 85.

[495] Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm,* op. cit. 4: 4 99 under tafsīr of Sūrat Al-'Alā, with reference to the *Musnad* of Aḥmad and the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Mājah.

[496] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 147, 147, 149, 150; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 20; Ad-Dārimī, ṣalāh: 69; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 1:371, V: 382, 384, 389, 394, 397, 398, 400.

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[497] Al-Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 19; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V:20.

[498] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 19; da'wat: 66, tawḥīd: 48; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* da'wat: 31; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat: 59; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 56; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 232.

[499] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* da'wat: 65; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* dhikr: 28, masājid: 146; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* tasbīḥ, dhikr: 24, taṭawwū'; 13, witr: 24; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* witr: 15. da'wat: 17, 47, 59; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* sahw: 96; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 56, iqāmah: 187; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* mass al-Qur'ān: 20, 21; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 35, 306, 375, 515.

[500] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 499.

[501] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* manāqib al-anṣār: 26, ādāb: 90, riqāq: 29; Muslim, birr: 2-6; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ādāb: 70; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 41; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 248, 391, 393, 444, 458, 470, 481.

[502] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* taṭawwū': 18, witr: 13; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* dhikr: 4; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat: 5; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 175; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 30; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 323, III: 75.

[503] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* witr: 26, manāsik: 50, ṭalāq: 7, janā'iz: 37, ādāb: 87; Mālik, Al-Muwaṭṭā, Qur'an: 24; At-Tirmidhī, da'wat 6; Aḥmad, Musnad, V: 195, 239, VI: 447.

[504] The following prayers have been called al-bāqiyāt aṣ-ṣāliḥāt (literally: good works which deserve lasting rewards) *la ilāha illā Allah; Subḥāna Allah; al-ḥamdu li Allah; Allahu Akbar;* and *la ḥawl wa lā quwwat illā bi Allah..* i.e: there is no god but Allah; glory to Allah; all praise is for Allah; Allah is great; and there is no power and no authority except with Allah. [See Aḥmad, Musnad, I: 71, III: 75, IV: 268; Mālik, Al-Muwaṭṭā, Qur'an, 23.]

[505] *Sayyid al-istighfār,* or the best word to seek God's forgiveness as taught by the Prophet is as follows: "0 Allah! You are my Lord, there is no god other than You. You have created me, and I am Your humble servant. I have tried to live according to Your commands and orders as much as I could. I seek Your protection against the evil consequences of the misdeeds I have done. I acknowledge the blessings that You have bestowed on me and I confess the sin I have committed. I beg You to forgive me, for no one can forgive any sin but You [See Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* da'wat: 1; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat: 15; An-

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Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* isti'ādhah: 57: 63; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 122, 125.]

[506] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 498.

[507] At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* thawāb al-Qur'ān: 25; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 6.

[508] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 135; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* iftitāḥ: 32; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 353, 356.

[509] Reading the Qur'ān here means reading the Qur'ān while holding it in the hand. For that purpose one has to be clean as well as make ablution; this is what is meant by higher degree of cleanliness, or observing both kinds of cleanliness.

[510] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ṭahārah: 4; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* wuḍū': 2; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* ṭahārah: 36; Aḥmad, V: 277, 280, 282.

[511] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh: 211, 213, 220, 223, libās: 29-31; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* libās: 8; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 79, 80, libās: 12; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* rida: 28; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* adhān: 123, maghāzī: 51, tafsīr: 110:2; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* iftitāḥ: 77, ṭaṭbīq: 10, 11, 25, 64, 65; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 20; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 282, 284, 384, 394, 397, 398, 400, VI: 35, 43, 49, 94, 115, 148, 149, 176, 190, 192, 200, 244, 266.

[512] For this *ḥadīth* see note 508.

[513] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* manāsik: 8; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* ḥajj: 4; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 421, VI: 294, 303, 314.

[514] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 65.

[515] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 493.

[516] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 161.

[517] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 507.

[518] At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* da'wat: 84, 113; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 55, du'ā': 5; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* Qur'an: 32, ḥajj: 246; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 127, 515.

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[519] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, aḥkām*:17, zakāh: 51; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, zakāh, 110, 111; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, zakāh: 94; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, zakāh: 19; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 17, 21, 40, 11: 99.

[520] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 69.

[521] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 103, 104; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 103; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 36; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 300, 375, 408, V: 353, 360, VI: 71, 76, 111, 180, 221.

[522] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 102; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, janā'iz 19; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ṭahārah: 109, janā'iz: 103; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 36, zuhd: 36; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, ṭahārah: 28.

[523] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 105; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 1: 77; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 105; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 47-48; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 441.

[524] Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, safar: 85.

[525] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣalāh: 48, janā'iz: 62, 96, anbiyā': 50, magāzī: 81; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, masājid: 19, 23; Abū Dāwūd, janā'iz: 72; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, masājid: 13, janā'iz: 106; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 120; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, madīnah: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 218, II: 260, 284, 2Z5, 296, 396, 454, 518, V: 184, 186, 204, VI: 34, 80, 121, 146, 229, 252, 255, 274, 275.

[526] The *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 300.

[527] See note 498, as well as 507.

[528] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'ilm 11; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah:5; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 386. See also Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 19.

[529] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tamannīy: 9; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 59, 60; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 124, 193, 200, -253.

[530] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, aymīn: 31; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, aymān: 19; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 21; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, nudhūr: 6; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 168.

[531] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 499.

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[532] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 'umrah: 8; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ḥajj: 127; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* Vi: 42.

[533] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* musāfirīn: 244; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 52; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 98, 170, 266.

[534] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nikāḥ: 1; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nikāḥ: 5; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* taṭawwu': 27, ṣawm: 45; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* nikāḥ 1; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* ṣawm: 17; nikāḥ: 3; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 2 158, 165, 188, 210, III: 241, 259, 285,V: 409, VI: 7, 268, 332, 398.

[535] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 50, zuhd: 72;At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* 'ilm. 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* 'ilm: 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 5, 46. At-Tirmidhī has rated this *ḥadīth* as fairly authentic (*ḥasan*) The second part of the *ḥadīth* is almost *mutawātir* [see Ibn Ḥajar: *Fatḥ al-Barī*, (ed. Fūwād 'Abdul-Bāqī Muḥibb ad-Dīn Al-Khaṭīb, Cairo, Dār Ar-Rayyān, 1407/1986), 1: 161-1651.

[536] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* shahādat: 29, tafsīr, 2:11, i'tiṣām: 25, tawḥīd: 51; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* 'ilm 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 136.

[537] Abū Nu'aym has noted this *ḥadīth* on the authority of Ibn 'Umar in his *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*. Al-Albānī has counted it as a weak (*ḍa'īf*) *ḥadīth.* See his *Ḍa'īf al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaghīr*, op. cit. *ḥadīth* 3037.

[538] Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, op. cit. 8:296. Al-Albānī consider it to be a fabricated (*mawḍū'*) *ḥadīth* (see his *Silsilah al-Aḥādīth aḍ-Ḍa'īf wa al-Mawḍu'ah*, Beirut, Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1398 1:4523. See also As-Suyuṭī, *Al-La'alī al-Maṣnu'ah fī al-Ḥadīth al-Mawdu'ah*, (Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1401/1981), 1:215.

[539] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ādāb: 11; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, birr: 18, 19; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, zakāh: 45; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, birr: 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 14, IV: 80, 83, 84, 399.

[540] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 147, 148, 149; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, libās 26; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, birr: 61; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah 9, zuhd: 16; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 299, 412, 416, 451, 11 164, 215, IV 151.

[541] These are parts of one *ḥadīth* which has appeared earlier; see note 441.

[542] See note 541

[543] The *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 436.

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[544] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 135, 154, 210, 251.

[545] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 433.

[546] See the *ḥadīth* with a little difference in words in Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 33; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 325; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, īmān: 17.

[547] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V 350, 361, VI: 422.

[548] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, riqāq: 18; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 514, 527.

[549] For Ubayy Ibn Ka'b see note 314.

[550] The *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 334.

[551] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tahajjud: 20, ṣawm: 59, anbiyā': 37; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: I: 187, 188; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ṣiyām:, 78; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II:189.

[552] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣawm: 56, 58; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 181; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ṣiyām 76, 77, 78, 80.

[553] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 25, 26. See also Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣawm 57, 59; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 186, 187; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 71, 78; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 28; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 164, 189, 190, 198, 199, 212, VI: 455.

[554] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 197, Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb 160; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 311.

[555] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 196, Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ṣawm: 53; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 31.

[556] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, anbiyā': 37; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 181, 189, 191; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ṣawm: 53; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 75, 76; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 31; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 2: 158, 200, 201, 225, V: 297, 311.

[557] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ṣiyām: 90; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan*, ṣawm: 18; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, ṣiyām: 49.

[558] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, dīyat: 22; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, qasamah: 9; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ḥudūd: 1, 3; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan*, ṭahārah: 55, ḥudūd: 21; An-Nasā'ī,

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*Sunan*, taḥrīm: 8, ' 12; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ḥudūd: 20; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 217, 247, 282, III: 121.

[559] For Ibn Mas'ūd see note 39.

[560] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 28, 31; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, īmān: 19; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, nudhūr: 2, 3; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, aymān: 27, 28; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffarāt: 16; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, nudhūr: 8; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 41, 224.

[561] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, aymān: 26; At-Tirmidhī, nudhūr: 12; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, aymān: 29; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 18; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, *nudhūr*: 1.

[562] With a little different wording the *ḥadīth* is recorded by Aṭ-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* (Baghdad, Maṭba'at al-Ummah, 1981), 17:313, *ḥadīth* no. 866; 'Abdur-Razzāq Aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, *Al-Muṣannaf* (ed. Ḥabīb Ar-Raḥmān Al-A'ẓamī, Beirut, Al-Maktabah al-Islāmīyyah, 1970, 72), *ḥadīth* no. 15842, 15845.

[563] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, nadhar: 8; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, aymān: 12, 19; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan*, nudhūr: I; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, aymān: 17, 31, 41; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 16; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 207, 429, 432, VI: 247.

[564] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, aymān: 31; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, aymān: 19; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffarāt: 21; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, nudhūr: 6; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 168.

[565] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, sayd: 27, aymān: 30, Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, nadhar: 11; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, aymān: 19; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, nudhūr: 17; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, aymān: 32, 33; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, kaffārat: 20; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, nudhūr: 1, 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 239, 253, 310, 311, 345, IV: 143, 145, 147,149, 151, 152, 201.

[566] See note 563.

[567] See the above *ḥadīth* and note.

[568] See the above *ḥadīth* and note.

[569] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bad' al-khalq: 6, anbiyā': 6, tawḥīd: 28; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, qadr: 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah: 16; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 10.

[570] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 532.

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[571] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan* 'ilm: 9; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 5; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 14, 20.

[572] For Ibn 'Umar see note 100.

[573] At the end of the fast of Ramaḍān Muslims are required to help their poor with an amount of grain people use in their food or its cost in money to enable them to share in the joy of 'Id al-Fitr. This charity is therefore called *ṣadaqat al-Fitr* and is expected to compensate for any shortcoming that might have occurred in one's fasting.

[574] This tradition has been mentioned earlier; see note 308.

[575] Ṭalq Ibn Ḥabīb was a pious Successor (*Ṭab'ī*), and a reliable narrator of *aḥādīth.* Abū Zur'ah says that he related *ḥadīth* from Ibn 'Abbās and is a reliable narrator, even though a Murji'ī. [See Adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-I'tidāl,* 4024.]

[576] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* zakāh: 27; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* zakāh: 13; see also tafsīr 2: 177.

[577] He is the renowned Iranian mystic, Sahl At-Tustārī; see note 87 for him.

[578] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣawm 26, īmān: 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣawm: 39; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* ṣawm: 26; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ṣiyām:15, ṭalāq: 16; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* ṣawm: 23; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 489, 491, 514.

[579] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* i'tiṣām: 20, 21, Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aqdīyyah: 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* aqdīyyah: 2; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* aḥkām: 2, qudat: 3; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* aḥkām: 3; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 198, 204, 205.

[580] See the *aḥādīth* quoted by Ibn Kathīr in his *Tafsīr* (vol. 4, pp. 31-32) under verse 38: 24-25.

[578a] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 534.

[581] See Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nikāḥ: 8; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nikāḥ: 6-8; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* nikāḥ: 2; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* nikāḥ 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* nikāḥ: 2; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* nikāḥ: 3; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 176,183.

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[582] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qadr: 34; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah:10, zuhd: 14; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 366, 370.

[583] For Abū Ṭālib Al-Makkī see note 136.

[584] For Ibn Ḥāmid see note 138.

[585] For Sa'īd Ibn Al-Musayyīb see note 50.

[586] An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* nikāḥ: 5, jihād: 12; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* 'itq: 3.

[587] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ādāb: 12, dhikr: 31, 32, 59, 65, 74-76; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* ādāb: 2; Ibn Mājah, libās: 2, ādāb: 55, 56, *du'ā'*: 2, 16, 27.

[588] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* dhikr: 89; At-Tirmidhī at'imah: 18; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 100, 117.

[589] He is Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī; see note 48 for him.

[590] Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* birr: 106; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 382, 383, V: 367.

[591] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aymān: 26; Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ,* nadhar: 5; At-Tirmidhī *Sunan,* nudhūr: 11, qadr: 6 An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan,* aymān: 26.

[592] 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Samrah Ibn Ḥabīb Ibn 'Abd Shams (d. 50/670), a Qarshī Companion of the Prophet, embraced Islam at the time of the conquest of Makkah, participated in the battle of Mawtah, and settled down at Baṣrah. He distinguished himself as a commander, conquered Sijistān, Kabul and Khurasan, and was appointed governor of Sijistān. He narrated 14 *aḥādīth.* He died at Baṣrah. [See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 5125; Adh-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām,* 1:26; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 4: 79-90.]

[593] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aḥkām: 5, 6, aymān 1, kaffārat: 10; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 13, īmān: 19; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* imārah: 92; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* nudhūr: 5; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* quḍāt: 5; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* nudhūr: 9; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 62, 63.

[594] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* hibah: 13, anbiyā': 54; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 66; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* madīnah: 22-24; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 201, 202, 206, 210, 212.

[595] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 112, 156; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 19, 20; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 89; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* siyar: 6.

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[596] For Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal see note 313.

[597] 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, a cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, one of the three earliest men to embrace Islam, the fourth caliph, a great soldier and commander, an eminent scholar of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*. He died at Kūfah in 40/660.

[598] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 477.

[599] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tafsīr, 92:6, janā'iz: 82; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, qadr: 6; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, qadr: 3; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I:129.

[600] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 479.

[601] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, tafsīr, 9:8; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, masājid: 19; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 23; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 68, 76.

[602] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ṭahārah: 4; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan*, wuḍū': 2; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, ṭahārah: 36; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 277,280, 282.

[603] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, adhān: 36, riqāq: 24, zakāh: 16, ḥudūd: 19; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, Shi'r: 14; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, zuhd: 53; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan*, 2. quḍāt.

[604] This tract is quite a book of more than two hundred pages. Dr. Rashād Salīm has produced it in the second volume of his collections of Ibn Taymīyyah's tracts, *Jāmi' ar-Rasā'il* (Jiddah, Dār Al-Madanī, 1405/1984), pp. 190-401.

[605] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, zuhd: 46; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, zuhd: 21; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 301, 435.

[606] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 23; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, zuhd: 48.

[607] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 297-298; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, tafsīr: 10; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V: 16.

[608] Also quoted earlier; see note 403.

[609] Ṣuhayb Ibn Sinān Ibn Mālik Ibn Banī An-Namīr (32 B.H./592-38/659), a Companion of the Prophet, a distinguished *mujahid*, famous as an archer, was born at Mosul in Iraq where his father served as governor appointed by the Persians. When the Romans invaded the country they took Ṣuhayb, a young boy then, as prisoner. Later some Arabs bought him, brought him to Makkah and

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sold him to 'Abdullah Ibn Jad'ān, who set him free. Ṣuhayb was engaged in trade when the Prophet began his mission. Ṣuhayb embraced Islam and migrated to Madinah along with others, but was allowed to leave Makkah on condition that he would leave all the money he had made in Makkah. The Prophet praised this bargain and said, "Ṣuhayb made a profit, Ṣuhayb made a profit." At Madinah Ṣuhayb joined the battle of Badr and all other later battles. Known as Ṣuhayb Ar-Rūmī, he died at Madinah and narrated 307 *aḥādīth.* [See *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd,* 3:161; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwa,* 1:169; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā',* 1:151; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 4099; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:302.]

[610] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 403.

[611] Also quoted earlier; see note 445.

[612] Also quoted earlier; see note 439.

[613] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aymān: 3.

[614] An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* īmān: 19; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 70, 130, 133, 249, V: 285, VI: 7.

[615] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 130, 139; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* manāqib: 65; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 209, II: 419, 501, 527, III: 24, 45, 72, 93, 429.

[616] An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* īmān: 20; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 11.

[617] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 208, IV: 65. 'Abbās was an uncle of the Prophet; he first supported him without embracing Islam, but later on declared his Islam. Hāshim was the great grandfather of the Prophet (Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib Ibn Hāshim).

[618] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* manāqib: 31.

[619] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh: 80; manāqib al-anṣār: 45, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 3, 5, farā'iḍ: 9; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid: 28, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 2-7; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* manāqib: 14-16; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 11;Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* farā'id: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 27, 359, III: 18, 478, 1V: 4, 5, 212.

[620] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* manāqib: 14; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 377, 389, 395, 408, 410, 412, 433.

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[621] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* witr: 26; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* zuhd: 30; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* shi'r: 16; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 141, V: 229, 233, 236, 238, 245, 247.

[622] See the *ahādīth* 611 and 612.

[623] Zayd Ibn Hārithah Ibn Sharaḥbīl (8/629) was caught as a small boy from his family in the Yemeni tribe of Banū Kalb, brought to Makkah and sold to Khadījah bint Khuwaylid, who after her marriage to the Prophet gave Zayd to him. The Prophet set him free, loved him a lot, took him as his son, and married him to his niece, Zaynab. He was called the son of the Prophet till the Qur'ān told the Muslims to call their adopted sons by the names of their real fathers. The Prophet appointed him commander of various campaigns, in one of which, the campaign of Mawtah, he was killed. [See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 1:563; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwa,* 1:147; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:96.]

[624] Usāmah was the son of Zayd, the adopted son of the Prophet. He was born at Makkah and was loved by the Prophet just like his father almost in the same way as he loved Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the sons of his daughter, Fāṭimah. Usāmah migrated to Madinah along with the Prophet. When he was twenty the Prophet appointed him commander at the head of an army which had among others such great men as Abū Bakr and 'Umar. When the prophet died, Usāmah moved to Wādī al-Qurā, thence to Damascus, but finally returned to Madinah where he died in 54/674. [See *Ṭabaqāt ibn Sa'd,* 4:42, Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 1:29; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* I:282.

[625] *Umm al-Mu'minīn* 'Ā'ishah bint Abī Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddīq, a great narrator of ḥadīth, a distinguished faqīh, and very knowledgeable in Arab history and literature, was married to the Prophet in the second year of the Hijrah, and of all his wives was most dear to him. She was not happy with the latter part of 'Uthmān's rule, but when he was killed she led the campaign calling for avenging his blood. This led her to the battle of the Camel against 'Alī. The last years of her life she passed quietly and died in 58/678. She narrated 2,270 aḥādīth.

[626] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 8.

[627] Muslim, faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 83.

[628] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 57-9; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* libās: 60; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 249, 288, 331, 440, 446, 531, 532, IV: 284, 292.

[629] This *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier in note 617.

[630] Bible, Deuteronomy: 6:5.

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[631] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 615.

[632] Aḥmad, II: 323.

[633] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, du'ā': 128.

[634] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah: 15; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, qiyāmah: 60; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 438, 440.

[635] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 286.

[636] see note 439

[637]Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, aymān: 3

[638] Dhū Al-Nūn, Thawbān Ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 245/859), was a famous Ṣūfī of Egypt. He was a friend and admirer of the renowned Ṣūfī Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874). Prof. Nicholson is of the opinion that he has influenced the course of Ṣūfism more than Abū Yazīd and more than any other Ṣūfī of his time. See his article, "A Historical Inquiry Concerning the Origin & Development of Sufism," JRAS, 1906, pp. 203-48.

[639] He is Al-Ḥasan, the renowned scholar, writer and ascetic of Baṣrah; see note 48 for him.

[640] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 207, VI: 16.

[641] Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 2.

[642] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ādāb: 55.

[643] Samnūn Ibn Ḥamzah Al-Khawwās (d. 290/903), a Ṣūfī originally from Baṣrah, settled at Baghdad where he died. He learned Ṣūfism from Sarīy As-Saqatī the preceptor of Junayd. He was a poet and has left some beautiful pieces of poetry [See Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat Awliyā'*, 10: 309; Al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdad*, 9: 234; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 3:304; Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah*, 133-4; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfīyyah*, 195-199.

[644] Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Al-Wasiṭī (d. ca 320/933), a learned Ṣūfī, orignially from Khurasan, settled at Marwa where he died. He was a disciple of Al-Junayd. [See Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah*, 151-2; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfīyyah*, 303-306; Adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar An-Nubalā'*, 9: 240-1]

[645] Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā'*, 9: 234.

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[646] 'Abdul-Karīm Ibn Hawāzin Al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) a disciple of Abū 'Alī Ad-Daqqāq (d. 405/1014) in Ṣūfism, is famous for his *Ar-Risālah* which is the most authentic and comprehensive introduction to Ṣūfī practices, experiences and concepts as developed by early Ṣūfīs. Al-Qushayrī has also a commentary on the Qur'ān, *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt,* and other works.

[647] Abū Muḥammad Ruwaym Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Ruwaym (d. 303/915) one of the leading Ṣūfīs of Baghdad, was versed in the recitation of the Qur'ān (*muqrī*). In *fiqh* he followed the Zahirī school of Dāwūd. [See Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah,* 127-287; Al-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfīyyah,* 180-184.]

[648] As for the words of Ruwaym, we have them in the edition of Al-Qushayri's *Risālah* by Dr. 'Abdul-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd Ibn Ash-Sharīf, (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, n.d.) p. 424. But we do not have Al-Qushayri's remark there.

[649] For Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ see note 247.

[650] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* da'wat 81; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* dhikr: 23, 24; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 107, 288.

[651] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* riqāq: 38; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* thawāb al-Qur'ān: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI:256.

[652] This *ḥadīth* could not be traced.

[653] See note 632

[654] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 15; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qiyāmah 60; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 428, 440.

[655] For Al-Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī see note 48.

[656] For Al-Junayd see note 86.

[657] Abū Al-'Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sahl Ibn 'Aṭā' (d. 309/921) a learned scholar and a renowned Ṣūfī, and contemporary of Junayd, was held in great esteem by Abū Sa'īd Al-Kharrāz. He was a friend of Al-Ḥallāj and was killed for defending him. [See Jāmi', *Nafaḥāt al-Uns,* pp. 141-2; Al-Qushayrī, p. 14 6.]

[658] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 8, 14, 19, manāqib: 1, 25, tafsīr: 12:2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 169:199; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 257 260, 391, 428, 431, 485, 498, 525, 539, III: 367.

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[659] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān: 12; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* īmān: 8; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 206, 215, 379, III: 154, V: 224, VI: 21, 22.

[660] This tradition has been mentioned by no compiler of *ḥadīth* except Al-Khaṭīb in his *Tārīkh* (see vol. 13, pp. 523-4). Mulla 'Alī Al-Qarī, considers it to be fabricated. [See Mulla 'Alī Al-Qarī, *Al-Asrār al-Ma'rifat fī al-Akhbār al-Mawḍu'ah,* (ed. Muḥammad Aṣ-Ṣabbagh, Beirut, *Ar-Risālah,* 139/1971), p. 266 *ḥadīth* no. 211.]

[661] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 140; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 32.

[662] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 18, ḥajj: 4, jihād: 1, tawḥīd: 48, 56; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 135, 136, 137; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* witr. 12; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* mawāqīt: 13, birr: 2; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* manāsik: 4, īmān: 1; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* manāsik: 16; Ad-Dārimī, jihād: 4; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 264, 287, 348, 388, 531, III: 411, IV: 342, V: 150, 171, 318, 368, VI: 272, 374, 440.

[663] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 110; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-jihād: 1; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* jihād: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 344, 424.

[664] The *ḥadīth* has been mentioned earlier; see note 649.

[665] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il aṣ-ṣaḥābah: 210, 211, 212, 214; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 9; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 45, shahādat: 4, manāqib: 56; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* shahādat: 9; faḍā'il al-aṣḥāb an-nabī: 1, riqāq: 7, īmān: 10, 27; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* aḥkām: 27; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 378, 438, 442, II: 228, 410, 479, IV: 267, 277, 426, 427, 436, 440, V: 35, 57.

[666] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 143.

[667] Ibn Taymīyyah's *Minhāj as-Sunnah an-Nabawīyyah* has been edited by Dr. Rashād Salīm and published in nine volumes by Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sa'ūd Islamic University, Riyadh, 1406/1986.

[668] He is Abū 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Al-Ḥākim At-Tirmidhī (d. 280/893), a disciple of Abū Turāb An-Nakhshabī (d. 245/859). He is famous for his theory of the Seal of the Saints. Among his books are *Khātim al-Walayah, Kitāb Nihaj,* and *Kitāb Ma'rifat al-Asrār,* ed. Dr. M. Ibrāhīm Al-Geyoushī (Cairo, Dār An-Nahḍah, 1977). See Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah,* P. 138; Jāmi', *Nafaḥāt al-Uns,* pp. 119-20; Attar, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā',* vol. II, pp. 77-84; Hijwirī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb,* pp. 177-9, 265ff; As-Sulāmī, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah,* 217-220.]

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[669] The reference is to Ibn 'Arabī, for whom see note 85 and for the claim that *walāyah* of a prophet is better than his prophethood see his *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, op. cit. P. 135.

[670] For Abū Sulaymān Ad-Darānī see note 147.

[671] For Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Junayd see note 86.

[672] Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd Ibn Ismā'īl (d. 298/910) was originally from Rayy, learned *taṣawwūf* from Shah Ibn Shuja' al-Kirmānī and Yaḥyā Ibn Mu'ādh Ar-Rāzī, then went to 'Abū Ḥafṣ Al-Ḥaddīd at Nishapur, married his daughter off and settled there. People used to say, "There are three persons in the world and there is no fourth of them: Abū 'Uthmān at Nishapurī, Al-Junayd at Baghdad and Abū 'Abdullah Ibn Al-Jala in Shām." [See Al-Qushayrī, *Ar-Risālah*, 120-21.]

[673] Abū Amr Ismā'īl Ibn Nujayd Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yūsuf As-Sulamī (d. 366/976) a leading Ṣūfī from Nisahpur, learned ḥadīth from Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbāl, and taṣawwūf from Abū 'Uthmān Al-Hirī (d. 298/910). One of his sayings is, "Mystical sites (*ḥāl*) which are not the product of religious knowledge (*'ilm*) do more harm than good to one who experiences them." He died at Makkah. [See Al-Qushayrī, *Risālah*, p. 182; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 7:84, Az-Zarkalī *Al-A'lām*, 1:326.]

[674] For Junayd see note 86

[675] For Abū Sulaymān Ad-Darānī see note 147.

[676] For Abū 'Uthmān An-Nishapurī see note 670.

[677] Abū Yazīd Ibn Ṭayfur Ibn 'Īsā Al-Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875), one of the founders of Ṣūfism, hailed from Bisṭam, a town in the Iranian province of Khamis. He is famous for his ecstatic experiences and *shaṭḥāt*. As-Sahlajī, a fifth century writer has collected his words in a book entitled *An-Nūr min Kalimāt Abī Ṭayfūr*, which has been published by Dr. 'Abdur-Raḥmān Badawī with some other writings under the name *Shaṭḥāt aṣ-Ṣufīyyah* [Kuwait, 1976.] R.C. Zaehner has a chapter on his experience and thought in his *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* [New York, Schocken, 19691. I have also studied his *ṭarīqah*, experience and *shaṭḥāt* in a paper, "Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmi's Description of Mystical Experience" (Karachi, vol. VI, No. 2. Summer 1983), pp. 25-55.

[678] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 56; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ṣalāh: 22; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan*, jumu'ah: 20; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, iqāmah: 88.

[679] For Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddīq see note 214.

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[680] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 649.

[681] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* bad' al-waḥī: 3, tafsīr: 96:1-3, ta'bīr: 1, 5; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh: 207, 208, rū'ya: 3, 4, 6; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh:148; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* rū'ya: 2, 3, tafsīr: 10:22; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* taṭbīq: 8 62; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* rū'ya: 1; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 77, rū'ya: 3-5; Mālik, *Muwaṭṭā,* rū'ya: 4.

[682] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz: 85; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* janā'iz 60: At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 63; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* janā'iz: 50; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 20, zuhd: 25; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 261, 499, 528, III: 179, 186, 197, 215, 281.

[683] Commenting on verses 7:175-6, most writers have suggested that they refer to a Jewish scholar of the past called Bal'am Ibn Bawra; some authors have also suggested the name of two Arabs, Umayyah Ibn Abī Aṣ-Ṣalāt and Sayfī Ibn Ar-Rahib. Whoever he might have been, the important thing is that he represents a particular character: a person who was given the knowledge of true religion, even the power to do miracles, but he went after the good of this world, engaged in acquiring wealth, and satisfying his lusts, and eventually doomed himself. [See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm,* 2:264-7; Abū Al-'A'la Al-Mawdūdī, *Tafhim al-Qur'ān,* 2:100-2.]

[684] I have not been able to trace anything about Barah Al-'Abid. However, the character that he represents has been explained by Ibn Taymīyyah, and needs no further comment.

[685] Aṭ-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr,* (Baghdad, (1403/1983), 11:103-4; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyah,* 3:278; Al-Haythamī, *Majma' az-Zawā'id,* (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabīyyah, 1402/1982), 1:114.

[686] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* janā'iz: 25.

[687] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* manāqib: 25, faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 36, istitābah:6, 7; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, zakāh*: 147, 148; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 12; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IIī 33,34.

[688] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 8; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 48; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 44, 50, 404.

[689] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 220, 221.

[690] The Nāsibah are just the opposite of the Rāfiḍah. Whereas the Rāfiḍah refused to recognize the caliphates of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, denounced them, and considered 'Alī to be the only rightful caliph and extolled him, the

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Nāsibah denounced 'Alī and did not count him among the rightly guided caliphs. [See Ibn Abī Al-'Izz, *Sharḥ al-'Aqīdah at-Taḥāwīyyah* (ed. Dr. 'Abdullah At-Turkī and Shu'ayb Al-Arnawuṭ, Beirut, *Ar-Risālah*, 1987), p. 689.]

[691] Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib (3/624-50/670), the grandson of the Prophet from his daughter Fāṭimah, became the fifth *khalīfah* when the people of Iraq pledged fealty to him after the murder of his father 'Alī in 40 A.H. Six months later, however, he abdicated the *khilāfah* in favor of Mu'āwīyah, the ruler of Ash-Shām and saved the *ummah* from another bloody battle. This lead to the unification of the *ummah* under Umayyad rule. Al-Ḥasan settled thereafter at Madinah where he died. (See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*: 132; Abū Nu'aym, *Al-Ḥilyah*, 2:35; Ibn Al-Jawzī *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah*:1:319; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām*, 2:215

[692] For Mu'āwīyah see note 215.

[693] The *ḥadīth* is not found in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim. For supporting *ḥadīth* see Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, as-sunnah: 5, 30; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, 5: 44, 50; Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *As-Sunnah*, (ed. Al-Albānī, Beirut, 1400/1980), 1131; Aṭ-Ṭabarānī, *Al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, 1:55, 89.

[694] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 'ilm: 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, sunnah: 5; Ibn Mājah: *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 6; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 16; Aḥmad, *Musnad: 4, 126, 127.*

[695] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, anbiyā' 50; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, imārah: 44; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, jihād*: 42.*

[696] See As-Sakhawī, *Al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasanah* (Cairo, Al-Khānjī, 1375/1956) p. 519; Al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-Aḥādīth ad-Ḍa'īfah*, 1: 328; Al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-Qāḍīr* (Cairo, At-Tijārīyyah al-Kubrā, 1957/1938), 5:17 *ḥadīth* no. 6406.

[697] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 686.

[698] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, janā'iz: 84, tafsīr: 9:12; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, tafsīr: 9:19; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, janā'iz: 69; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 14; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 16, III: 488, 489, VI: 263.

[699] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 692.

[700] Al-Haythamī, *Majma' az-Zawā'id* (Beirut, 1402/1982), 9:355-6; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, (Cairo, 1408/1988), 8:123.

[701] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa An-Nihāyah*, op. cit. 8: 124-125.

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[702] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tawḥīd: 28, 45; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, faḍā'il al-jihād: 28; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, jihād: 13; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, imārah: 150, 151.

[703] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, jihād: 80.

[704] Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 177.

[705] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan, aḥkām*: 4; An-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, zakāh: 77; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 22.

[706] This *ḥadīth* has appeared earlier; see note 701.

[707] This *ḥadīth*, too, has appreared earlier; see note 702.

[708] See Al-Albānī, *Silsilat al-Aḥādīth ad-Ḍa'īfah*, op. cit. 4:159, *ḥadīth* no. 1661, 1662, 1663. See also Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, *Kitāb as-Sunnah*, op. cit. 2: 487, 492.

[709] For Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyād see note 247

[710] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 'aqīdah: 10; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā*, kalām: 20; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 327, 360, 367.

[711] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 18, manāsik: 76; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, muqaddamah: 24; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 225, IV: 80, 82, V: 183.

[712] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 42; Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, īmān: 95; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ādāb: 59; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, birr: 17; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan*, bay'ah 31, 41; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, riqāq: 41; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, I: 351, II: 297, IV: 10 2, 103.

[713] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, zuhd: 43; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan*, riqāq: 21; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 456, 460.

[714] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 147; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, du'ā': 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 133, 134, 151.

[715] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, īmān: 147; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, du'ā': 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 133, 134, 151.

[716] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, birr: 32; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, zuhd: 9; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II: 285, 529.

[717] For Mu'ādh Ibn Jabal see note 313.

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[718] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 183, At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* qiyāmah: 30.

[719] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* jihād: 34.

[720] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aḥkām: 43, fitan: 2; Muslim, *Sunan,* imārah: 41, 43, 80; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* bay'ah: 1-5, 8; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 41; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* bay'ah: 1, jihād: 5; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 62, 81, 101, 139, Ill 120, I72, 185, 204, 216, 284, 322, 323, 338, 441, IV: 47, 49, 51, V: 314, 318, 319, 321, 335.

[721] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 108, aḥkām: 4; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 34, 38; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād, 87; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* jihād: 29, ādāb: 78; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* bay'ah: 34; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 40; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 17.

[722] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aḥkām: 43; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 5, 'ilm: 16, ādāb: 88; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 6, bay'ah: 3; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 130, 202.

[723] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* manāqib al-Anṣār: 8; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 16, 48; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* quḍāt: 4; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 351, 352.

[724] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* fitan: 2, musaqat: 14, 15, khums: 19, jizyah: 4, manāqib: 25, manāqib al-ansar: 8, maghāzi: 56; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, zakāh*: 132, 139; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 25; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* qudat: 4; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 384, 428, 433, II: 57, 89, III: 166, 167, 171, 182, 224, IV: 42, 292, 351, 352, V: 304.

[725] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jizyah: 22, ādāb: 99, ḥiyal: 9, fitan 21; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 8, 10-12; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 150; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* siyar: 28, fitan: 26; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 42; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* buyū': 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 411, 441, II: 16, 29, 48, 56, 70, 75, 96, 103, 112, 116, 123, 136, 142, 156, III: 7, 19, 35, 46, 61, 64, 70, 84, 142, 150, 250, 270.

[723a] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 26; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 70. See also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 17, Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 70, 126, III: 19, 46, 61, 70, 84.

[726] During the caliphate of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwīyah (d. 64/683) the people of Madinah rose against his rule. Yazīd sent a great army under the command of Mūsā Ibn 'Uqbah to suppress the revolt. The Madinans fought a pitched battle at the plane of Ḥarrah on the northeastern side of the city but were defeated, and the city was given to pillage for three days. [See *Ency. of Islam,* article, "Al-Ḥarra"; Al-Baladhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* 31: Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 2: 402.]

[727] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 58; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 446.

[728] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* fitan: 2, aḥkām; 4; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 53-6, 58; An-

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Nasā'ī taḥrīm ad-dam: 28; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* siyar: 75; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 83, 93, 95, 123, 154.

[729] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 53, 57; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 7.

[730] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 53, 54; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* taḥrīm: 28; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 296, 306, 488.

[731] For the Ḥarurīyyah see note 187.

[732] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 685.

[733] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* zakāh: 4, adhān: 54, 56, aḥkām: 4, manāqib al-anṣār: 3, ḥarth: 5; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 36, 49, 50, ḥajj: 141; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 30; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 39,

[734] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* masājid: 240, imārah: 35, 37; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 39.

[735] See Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* adhān: 4. 5. 156, aḥkām: 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 39; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 114, 171.

[736] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 36; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* bay'ah: 26; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* IV: 69, V: 381, VI: 402.

[737] See note 734.

[738] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah, 65, 66; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* riqāq: 78; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 24, 28.

[739] See note 736.

[740] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 18; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* ādāb al-Qudat: 1; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 160.

[741] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 19; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jumu'ah: 29, manāqib: 25, manāqib al-anṣār: 11; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* imārah: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 6, 289, III: 141, 480, V: 239, VI: 61, 93, 257, 258.

[742] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aḥkām: 8; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 227, 228, imārah: 21; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* 77; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 15, V: 25, 27.

[743] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 22, īmān: 229.

[744] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jumu'ah: 11, aḥkām: 1, janā'iz: 32, istiqrāḍ: 20, waṣaya: 9, 'itq: 17, 19, nikāḥ: 81, 90; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 20; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,*

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imārah: 1, 13; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* jihād: 27; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 5, 54, 55, 108, III: 121.

[745] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aḥkām: 4, āḥād: 1, maghāzī: 59; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 39; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 87; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* bay'ah: 34; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 40; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 82, 94, 124, 129, 131, IV: 426, 427, 432, 436, V: 66, 67, 70.

[746] For Shaykh 'Adīy see note 260.

[747] For Shaykh Aḥmad see note 281.

[748] For Shaykh Abdul-Qāḍir Al-Jilānī see note 259.

[749] For Shaykh Ḥayāt see note 340.

[750] For Shaykh Sa'd Al-Madyanī see note 341.

[751] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 37, tafsīr: 31:2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 57; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān: 4; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 9; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 27, 51, 53, 319, II: 107, 426, IV: 129, 164.

[752] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 48; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il: 143-45; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 13; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 319, 406, 437, 463, 482, 541.

[753] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* aḥkām: 16.

[754] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* manāqib: 23, ādāb:80, ḥudūd: 10; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il: 77, 79; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ādāb: 4; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* ḥusn al-khulq: 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 32, 114, 116, 130, 182, 223, 232, 262, 281.

[755] Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* ḥusn al-khulq: 8.

[756] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* manāqib: 18; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* faḍā'il 218; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ādāb: 77; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 244, 256, 312, 398, 412, III: 9, 361.

[757] For Abū Hurayrah see note 99.

[758] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān 78; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 11; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* īmān: 67; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* *ṣalāh*: 242, malāḥim: 17; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* iqāmah: 155, fitan: 20; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III; 20, 49, III: 10, 54, 92.

[759] For Ibn Mas'ūd see note 39.

[760] For Abū Bakr Aṣ-Ṣiddīq see note 214.

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[761] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 20; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 8; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 2, 5, 9.

[762] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* malāḥim: 17; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 5:18; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 21.

[763] At-Tirmidhī, fitan: 25; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 384, 387, 428, 433.

[761a] Sa'd Ibn Mu'ādh Ibn An-Nu'aym Ibn Imra' Al-Qays (d. 5/626) a distinguished Companion, the head of the Aws tribe of the Anṣār of Madinah, and their leader at the battle of Badr and Uḥud where he stayed firm along with the Prophet against the attack of the enemy. At the battle of Ditch he was hit by an arrow which proved fatal. Sa'd was thirty-seven at the time. The Prophet was very grieved at his death and said, "The Throne of God has moved at the death of Sa'd Ibn Mu'ādh." He was buried in Al-Baqi'. [See *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd,* 3:2, Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 1:180, Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah*: 3197; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3: 139.]

[761b] Sa'd Ibn 'Ubādah Ibn Ḍalīm Ibn Ḥārithah (d. 14/635 another Companion from the Anṣār of Madinah, and the head of the Khazraj tribe, was called *Kāmil,* the Perfect, because of his expertise in writing, archery and swimming. He was among those who pledged fealty to the Prophet at 'Aqabah and was invited to migrate to Madinah. The Prophet appointed him one of the twelve *Nuqabā',* chiefs for the people of Madinah. Sa'd participated in all the battles. At the death of the Prophet he aspired to the *khilāfah* and abstained from pledging fealty to Abū Bakr when he was chosen *khalīfah.* When 'Umar was appointed *khalīfah,* he left for Shām and died at Hawrān, [See *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd,* 3:142; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 1:202; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:135.]

[764] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* birr: 78; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 1; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* VI: 58, 112, 125, 171, 206, 222.

[765] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* istitābah: 4, isti'dhān: 22, da'wat 59, ādāb: 35; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* birr: 47, salām: 10; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ādāb: 10; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* isti'dhān: 12; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* ādāb: 9;, Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* riqāq: 75; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* isti'dhān: 38; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 112, IV: 87, VI: 37, 85, 199.

[763a] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān: 8.

[766] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 4, tawḥīd: 22; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* jihād:18 Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 335, 339.

[767] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jumu'ah: 18, jihād: 16; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-

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jihād: 7; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* jihād: 9; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* jihād: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 367, 479, V: 225, 226, VI: 444.

[768] An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* jihād: 39; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-jihād: 25; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad, 440, 441.*

[769] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 73; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 136, An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* jihād: 39; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* .jihād: 7; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* jihād: 31; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 62, 65, 66, T5, II: 177, III: 468, V: 339, 440, 441.

[770] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-jihād: 12.

[771] Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 61, 65; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* jihād: 8.

[772] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* jihād: 1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* imārah: 110; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* faḍā'il al-jihād: 1, 2; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* jihād: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 344, 434, 438, 459, 465.

795 Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 6.

[774] See Ibn Al-Qayyīm, *Al-Jawāb ash-Shāfi'ī li man Sa'al 'an al-Imām Ash-Shāfi'ī,* Cairo, 1346/1928, pp. 27-28.

[775] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 32-36; Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 17, 38, ṣalāh: 28, zakāh: 1, i'tiṣām: 2; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 95; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 88; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* zakāh: 3, Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 1-3; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* siyar: 10; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 4: 8.

[776] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* anbiyā': 6, manāqib: 25, faḍā'il al-Qur'ān: 36, ādāb: 95, tawḥīd: 23, 57, istitābah: 95; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh, zakāh: 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 154, 156, 159; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 28; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 24; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* zakāh: 79, taḥrīm: 26; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah:12; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 21; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* mass al-Qur'ān: 10 Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 88, 92, 131, 147, 151, 156, 160, 256, 404, III: 5, 15, 33, 52, 56, 60, 64, 65, 68, 73, 159, 183, 189, 224, 353, 355, 486, IV: 145, 422, 425, V: 42, 176.

[777] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* zakāh: 151; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 45, 64.

[778] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 26; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 2: 180, 187.

[779] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: I; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān: 18; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 17; Ad-Dārimī, *Sunan,* siyar: 75; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 332, III: 120, 145.

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[780] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, īmān: 18; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV: 102.

[781] See *Tuḥfat al-Aḥwadhī*, 7: 399; Al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, 1: 128. However, various authors have rated the *ḥadīth* as weak. See Abū Bakr Al-Ajūrrī, *Ash-Sharī'ah*, (Cairo, As-Sunnah al-Muḥammadīyyah, 1369/1950) 15, 16; Al-Lalkā'ī, *Sharḥ Uṣūl I'tiqād Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (ed. Dr. Aḥmad Sa'd Ḥamdān, Ar-Riyaḍ, Dār Aṭ-Ṭayyibah, 1402A.H.), 1: 99; Ibn Baṭṭah, *Al-Ibānah 'alā Uṣūl as-Sunnah wa al-Diyānah* (ed. Riḍā Mu'ṭī' Maktabah Ar-Raysālīyyah, 1404/1984), 1: 368).

[782] Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, fitan: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III: 145, IV: 102.

[783] This *ḥadīth* has been quoted earlier; see note 685.

[784] Yūsuf Ibn Asbāṭ was known for his renunciation and devotion. 'Aṭṭār says that he belonged to the group of the Successors (*Tābi'īn*) lived a solitary life away from society, and devoted himself to worship. See Farīd ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, Tehran, n.d. II: 64 67.]

[785] Najdah Ibn 'Āmir Al-Ḥarūrī (d. 69/686), from the tribe of Banū Ḥanīfah the leader of the Najdīyyah group of the Khawārij, differed from other Kharijīs on certain issues, went to Makkah, preached his ideas, and had a following. In the beginning he was associated with Nāfi' Ibn Al-Azraq, another Kharijī leader and superior to him, but later on left him and went to Yamāmah in 66 A.H., and then to Bahrain, where he established his authority and was called *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. This was during the ascendency of 'Abdullah Ibn Az-Zubayr over Makkah, who dispatched several contingents, one after the other, under the command of Maṣ'ab Ibn Az-Zubayr to crush Najdah, but he could not overthrow him. Najdah ruled over Bahrain, Yamamah, Oman, and Ḥajar for five years. In the end his followers disliked some of his practices, turned against him, and killed him. He is called Al-Ḥarūrī because he belonged to the Khawārij who held their first meeting at Ḥarūrah, two miles away from Kūfah, thereafter called Ḥarūrīyyah. [See Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, 4:78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, 6:148; Al-Yafi'ī, 1:144; Ibn Al-'Imād, *Shadhrāt*, I:76; Az-Zarkalī *Al-A'lām*, 8:324-5.]

[786] Nāfi'ī Ibn Al-Azraq Ibn Qays (d. 65/682), another leader of the Khawārij and head of the Azāriqah group, was also from the Banū Ḥanīfah tribe of Najd. He settled at Baṣrah and joined the circle of the students of the famous Commentator of the Qur'ān, Ibn 'Abbās. He supported 'Alī against Mu'āwīyah, but parted company at the occasion of *taḥkīm* between them, and turned along with others against 'Alī. During the rule of Mu'āwīyah, his governor 'Ubaydullah Ibn Ziyād at Baṣrah dispersed the Khawārij, who joined the army of 'Abdullah Ibn Az-Zubayr and fought the Umayyads. But later on, when they found that Ibn Az-Zubayr did not approve their views with regard to 'Uthmān, they left him. Nafi'ī returned to Baṣrah. Al-Mahlab Ibn Abī Ṣafrah waged war

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against him and after a bloody battle killed him. [See Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil:* 4:65 H.; Aṭ-Ṭabarī *Tārīkh,* 7:65; Adh-Dhahabī, *Lisān al-Mizān*: 6 144; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,*: 8:3154

[787] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 3:8; ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 12; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V:250, 253, 256, 269.

[788] Al-Walīd Ibn 'Uqbah Ibn Abī Mu'īṭ (d. 61/680), one of the brothers of 'Uthmān from his mother, embraced Islam the day Makkah was conquered. The Prophet appointed him as revenue collector over Banū Al-Musṭaliq, and 'Umar appointed him in the same capacity over Banū Taghlib. 'Uthmān, the third caliph appointed him governor at Kūfah after Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqās in 25 A.H. He was charged with drinking wine; 'Uthmān called him back, punished him and put him in jail. After the death of 'Uthmān, he went to Iraq and settled there, away from the eyes of people. In the feud between 'Alī and Mu'āwīyah he did not side with anyone, except that wrote an elegy to 'Uthmān and persuaded Mu'āwīyah to avenge his murder. He died at Raqqah. [See lbn Ḥajar,Al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Iṣābah,* 9149; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 9:143.]

[789] Ḥajjaj Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Al-Ḥakam Ath-Thaqafī (40/661-95/714) a fiery orator and a great killer, was born in Ṭā'if, went to Damascus, entered in the service of the Umayyad government, was appointed commander of the army by 'Abdul-Malik, marched with a large army against 'Abdullah Ibn Az-Zubayr in Hijaz, killed him and scattered his men. Thereupon 'Abdul-Malik appointed him governor of Makkah, Madinah and Ṭā'if, and later on also put Iraq under him. Ḥajjāj quelled the revolt at Baghdad and ruled over the whole territory most high-handedly for twenty years. He built the city of Wāsiṭ where he died. [Ibn. Khallikān, *Wafayāt*: 1:123; Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*: 4:222; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*: 4:48; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 2:175.]

[790] He is Al-Mukhtār Ibn Abī 'Ubayd Ibn Mas'ūd Ath-Thaqafī (1/622-67/687), a renowned opponent of the Umayyads, was born at Ṭā'if, moved with his father to Madinah during the reign of 'Umar. 'Umar's son 'Abdullah married his sister, Ṣafīyyah. Al-Mukhtār was loyal to the Banū Hāshim, when Ḥusayn was killed in 61 A.H., the Umayyad governor of Baṣrah caught him and put him in prison, but later released him at the intercession of 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar. Al-Mukhtar then called people to pledge fealty to Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥanafīyyah, and along with his men fought the governor of Kūfah and defeated him. He then avenged the blood of Ḥusayn by killing Shāmir and others who had killed Ḥusayn. He ruled over Iraq for a time. It is said that he claimed he was a prophet, and received revelations. Later on he fought against 'Abdullah Ibn Az-Zubayr, but was killed by the latter's brother Musāb in Kūfah. Al-Mukhtar ruled for sixteen months. [See Ibn Al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 4:82-108; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 7:146; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 8547; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 8:70-71.]

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[791] Ibn Kathīr has noted the *aḥādīth* on the point in his *Tafsīr,* vol. I: pp. 342-43.

[792] Sa'd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ Mālik Ibn Uhayb Ibn 'Abd Manāf (23 B.H./60-55/675), one of the top ten Companions whom the Prophet gave the good tidings of Paradise, embraced Islam at Makkah at the age of seventeen. Sa'd participated in the battle of Badr and all subsequent battles, and distinguished himself as a great horseman, which won him the title of *Fāris al-Islām.* He commanded the army which defeated the Persians at the battle of Qāḍīsīyyah. Thereafter, he was appointed governor of southern Iraq. During this period he built the city of Kūfah. He continued in the post throughout the reign of 'Umar as well as the first half of the reign of 'Uthmān, and thereafter returned to Madinah where lie died. [See *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd:* 6:6; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah,* 3186; Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā':* 1: 92; Ibn Al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwah,* 1:138; Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 3:13

[793] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 'ilm: 3719, ḥajj: 133, maghāzī: 77, ādāb: 43, aḍāḥī: 5, ḥudūd: 9, fitan: 8, tawḥīd: 24; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ḥajj: i47, qisamah: 29, 30; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 6; tafsīr: 9:2; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* quḍāt: 36; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* manāsik: 76, 84; fitan: 2; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 24, manāsik: 34, 72; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 230, III: 313, 371, 485, IV: 76, 306, 337, V: 37, 39, 49, 68, 73, 411, 412.

[794] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* birr: 18; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 277, 360, III: 491.

[795] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ṣalāh: 28; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān: 2; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* taḥrīm: 1, īmān: 15, ḍaḥaya: 17; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 149, 225.

[796] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 22, dīyat: 2, fitan: 10; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* qisamah: 33, fitan: 14, 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* fitan: 5; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* taḥrīm: 29, qisamah: 7; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 11; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* 4: 401, 418, V: 43, 47, 51.

[797] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* 'ilm: 43, ḥajj: 132, maghāzī: 77, aḍāḥī: 5, ādāb: 95, ḥudūd: 9, fitan: 8, tawḥīd: 24; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 118-120, qisamah:29, fitan: 50; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* sunnah: 15; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 28; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* taḥrīm.: 29; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 5; Ad-Dārimī *Sunan,* manāsik: 76; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 230, 402, II: 85, 87, 104, III: 477, IV: 76, 351, 358, 363, 366, V: 37, 39, 44, 45, 49, 68, 73.

[798] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* ādāb: 73; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 111; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* īmān: 16; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* kalām: 1; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* II: 18, 44, 47, 60, 112, 113, 142.

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[799] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tafsīr: 63: 5, 7, maghāzi: 46; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* birr: 64; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* jihād: 78; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* muqaddamah: 12.

[800] Usayd Ibn Al-Ḥuḍayr Ibn Sahhāk Ibn 'Utayk (d. 20/641), a distinguished Companion from the Aws tribe of Madinah, counted as one of great minds of the Arabs, was called *al-Kāmil,* the Perfect. He was one of the seventy men and women of Madinah who invited the Prophet at Al-'Aqbah near Makkah to come to Madinah and promised their support. He was appointed as one of the twelve monitors whom the Prophet sent for preaching Islam at Madinah. He participated in the battle of Uḥud and held his ground against the attack of the Quraysh. He participated in all subsequent battles. The Prophet praised him in these words: "What a man is Usayd Ibn Al-Ḥuḍayr," He narrated 18 *aḥādīth.* [Az-Zarkalī, *Al-A'lām,* 1:33.]

[801] For Sa'd Ibn 'Ubādah see note 761b.

[802] These exchanges occurred in the case of the slander which some hypocrites directed against 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet, and which was refuted by God through revelation. See the *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm,* by Ibn Kathīr, op. cit. vol. III: p. 269 tinder the verse 18:11.

[803] For Usāmah see note 621.

[804] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* dīyat: 2; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* īmān: 158, 159; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* tafsīr: 11: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 200.

[805] Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* fitan: 20; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* fitan: 9, 22; Mālik, *Al-Muwaṭṭā,* Qur'an: 35; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 240, 243, 247, 248.

[806] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* tafsīr: 6:2, i'tiṣām: 11; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* 6 2; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 209.

[807] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 7; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* taḥrīm: 6.

[808] At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* fitan: 7; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* I: 18, 26, III: 446.

[809] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 46; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* imāmah: 48; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* V: 196, 233, 243, VI: 446.

[810] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ,* adhān: 54; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 60; At-Tirmidhī, *Sunan,* ṣalāh: 60; An-Nasā'ī *Sunan,* imārah: 3, 5. 11, 43, qiblah: 16; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan,* adhān: 5, iqāmah: 46; Aḥmad, *Musnad,* III: 48, 51, 84, 163, 475, IV: 118, 121, V: 71, 272.

[811] For Az-Zuhrī see note 319.